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VOL. XXX SEPTEMBER, 1950 No. 1

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1949-50

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By W. P. FRIEDERICH

THE NEW FACE OF JOURNALISM
By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

PHILOSOPHY IN THE HUMANITIES
By S. A. EMERY

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FOREWORD

The Sixth Series of Lectures in the Humanities represented on the campus at Chapel Hill a continuation of the idea begun in 1944 whereby regular teachers in the Humanities departments within the University should present to a general audience materials of popular interest and intellectual appeal within the special province of each lecturer. For a sixth time a series has given voice to man's varied interests in the area of life labeled the Humanities. This series rounds out eighteen lectures from nearly as many different departments within the University and proves anew how active arts and letters remain in a world that hears much of technology, economics, and politics.

The variety of the lectures suggests that the ideas should have greater range than a single presentation to an audience in Chapel Hill. These lectures are not commemorations of particular events nor comments on current affairs that might hold interest for a day. They are for those times when people may seek to know more. So this series, like those of earlier years, has been put into pamphlet form that it may have a wider circulation, that it may circulate through society. To each lecture has been added a list of readings suggested for background study. Thus enriched, the series is appropriately issued through the University Extension Division, an agency of the University which has for its campus an area outside Chapel Hill extending to the boundaries of the state and, in the spirit of learning itself, beyond all boundaries.

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Committee on Lectures

Werner Paul Friederich, Professor of German and Comparative Literature and a native of Switzerland, was trained at the Universities of Bern, the Sorbonne, Harvard and Yale before he came to the University of North Carolina in 1935. He holds a Master's Degree from Harvard in American and English Literature, and a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature. His interest in Comparative Literature resulted in his becoming the founder and first chairman of the Comparative Literature Section of the Modern Language Association and sub-secretary of that Association's Committee on International Cooperation. He is Associate Editor of *Comparative Literature*, a journal founded through the efforts of his group, and he is also Editor of the *University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature.* He was visiting Professor of American Literature at the University of Bern in 1938.

Among Mr. Friederich's various books are *Spiritualismus und Sensualismus in der englischen Barocklyrik* (Vienna, 1932), *Werden und Wachsen der USA in 300 Jahren* (Bern, 1939), *An Outline History of German Literature* (New York, 1948), *Dante's Fame Abroad, 1350 to 1850* (Rome, 1950), and, in collaboration with Professor Baldensperger of the Sorbonne, a *Bibliography of Comparative Literature* (Chapel Hill, 1950). The lecture printed here was delivered November 29, 1949 in Gerrard Hall.

SOME GERMAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO EUROPEAN LITERATURE

By W. P. Friederich

In spite of the dangers inherent in making broad generalisations about national traits and national literatures—because most thoughtful listeners can easily think of many minor exceptions which seem to contradict such generalisations—it is, at times, quite fascinating and thought-provoking to stress certain national literary trends, because they help to clarify the broad over-all picture of European literature. I beg you, therefore, to accept some of my contentions with a grain of salt and I only hope that you will agree with me that the canvas painted with a few bold strokes (though it may disregard certain finer shadings) nevertheless conjures up a picture of German traits and contributions which is essentially accurate. In trying to evaluate some of these contributions, I shall very often have occasion to compare German literature with French literature, for these two nations to me represent the two most important antitheses in Western European letters. Neither England nor Spain, nor even Italy, can as clearly and unequivocally serve as leaders of the Germania and Romania as Germany and France can. To study the characteristics and the differences of these two countries means, in a way, to study the quintessence of Western civilization. Happily enough, the French and German minds do not only vie with each other, and compete with each other, as it were, for the first place in European letters; they also complement each other, each one having some of the very traits and values which the other is lacking—and in their better moments there takes place between the two nations a most fruitful exchange of ideas and ideals which is all the more important because the fate of the political as well as of the cultural relations between France and Germany very often contributes to determine the destiny of Western Europe as a whole. The pendulum of Europe's intellectual leadership swings constantly between Romania and Germania, between France and Germany; and thus the life of European literature may indeed be compared to a living organism, to a great lung, which is now inhaling and now exhaling, now accepting the standards of France and now again accepting the values of Germany.

And what are these different traits between which Europe is constantly oscillating? I suppose one of the easiest ways to define the two is to say that France is the home of Classicism and Germany the home of Romanticism. It is not the time nor the place to elaborate here in detail on the essence of these two —isms; may it suffice to state that Classicism, in spite of its Italian origins, found the most perfect expression in the France of 1660, because its ideals of reason, restraint, dignity, rules and decorum were thoroughly germane to the flower of French society. Not so the essentially irrational and romantic mentality of the Germans who want originality instead of imitation, spectacularness instead of restraint, faith and ardor instead of scepticism, phantasy instead of verisimilitude, nature instead of civilization, individualism instead of etiquette, the heart instead of the brain. The result is well-known: the masters of French Classicism found

only a weak and miserable echo in Germany around 1740 because the Germans resented French Neo-Classicism as something thoroughly alien to their mind, and the leaders of German Romanticism found a belated and short-lived echo in France between 1827 and 1836 because the classical French instinctively felt that Romanticism was alien to them, too. Foreign values may for a while be superimposed upon a nation, yet sooner or later every nation will revert to its own inborn characteristics.

Classical Romania and romantic Germania—that means, if we carry the above-mentioned characteristics a little farther, that France is static and Germany dynamic, that the one builds the form, the law, the society, the state and that the other breaks it. To the Germans the status quo means retrogression, perhaps even death; forever they grope blindly forward, who knows—towards a better future, smashing the semi-permanent fixtures the French put in their way, like the bird Phenix forever feeling the restless urge to die and to rearise out of the ashes. Mankind must necessarily consist of these two composite parts: of the one element that strikes out in ever new directions, never satisfied with that which is, but always anxious to grope for that which will be—and of the other element which is calmer, maturer perhaps, and which consolidates what has been achieved and which is reluctant to embark upon tempestuous new adventures.

We can watch this fascinating rhythm between dynamic Germania and restraining Romania in the history of the past 1500 years, from the moment on when the Romania built the Roman state, Roman law and Roman society and when invading Germanic tribes, in the fifth century, smashed all this and replaced the unity of the civilized world by a chaotic medley of small Germanic kingdoms. Then, from 800 till 1250, the pendulum swung back to law and order again: Charlemagne established the Holy Roman Empire and created new unity; the growing age of French chivalry propagated certain ideals of etiquette and restraint; literature gropingly found its way back to fluency, delicacy, style; and scholasticism held in its firm embrace both the religion and the philosophy of that age. By 1250, however, there followed the new disintegration: the slow decay of the Empire, the Peasant Rebellions in England and Germany, the rise of the bourgeoisie, the disappearance of chivalrous norms, the defeat of scholasticism at the hands of the German mystics, the decline of the Papacy, and—the crowning event in this slow progress of emancipation and disintegration—the Lutheran schism in 1517. Yet in that very same sixteenth century the pendulum began to swing back to the Romania, to order, discipline, dignity and formalism: the beauties of the Italian Renaissance, the revival of antiquity through the humanists, the trend towards political absolutism in France, Spain, England, the splendor of courtly society, the golden age of French Classicism. And by 1750, of course, there began again the Germanic counter-push, English Preromanticism, the German Storm and Stress, the political, literary and emotional emancipation of the Romantic Age. To this very day we witness the same rhythm between ebb and flood, between reason and impulse, between consolidating France and dynamic

Germany—an inhaling and an exhaling that is comparable indeed to the workings of a lung, one as fully needed as the other.

Classical Romania and romantic Germania: that opens up vistas into many other literary differences, too. It means, for instance, that the Franch are essentially strong in intellectual and analytical literature, in works composed rationally, painstakingly, almost scientifically in their stylistic perfection, whereas the Germans distinguish themselves by individualistic, lyrical, emotional outpourings. French Classicism excels in the tragedy (that most mathematical of all genres), the social comedy of manners, the satire, the philosophical essay or novel, the epigram or in any other type of literature that permits a careful analysis of men, manners and times. This atmosphere of objective picturization was still enhanced by the typically classical system of rules, regulations, unities, meter, catharsis and decorum that pervaded the age of Louis XIV and of Voltaire. Not so the Germans: for them romantic stammerings, lyrical outbursts, individual confessions and fragmentary shreds of stanzas, chapters and scenes seem far more important than calmly detached analysis of society. France is preeminently social-minded, as evidenced, above all, by the Revolution of 1789 which, because of the very character and the political maturity of the French people, had to be the one great contribution of France to the history of European thought. Not so the German poet who cares little about the structure of the state and his own place in society and who does not, by the very nature of his mystical calling, care for social satires, witty epigrams, dainty madrigals and courtly festivities. German literature at its best is personal, lyrical, irrational; and it is certainly no mere coincidence that this typically German trait shows itself not only in the great number of its lyrical poets but also in the outstanding quality of its musical composers. In music and in lyrical poetry Germany conquered for herself a field which Europe had hardly ever touched upon—for though the France of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries had her Lully, her La Fontaine and her Chénier, she had nothing that could compare with the lyrics of Klopstock, Bürger, Goethe, Novalis, Eichendorff or Heine, nor with the music of Beethoven and Brahms or the songs of Schubert and Schumann.

German literature is so essentially personal that even German novels manage to obtain a lyrical ring. Usually a novel, by its very definition, is broad and objective, more often than not (as e.g. in Balzac and Zola, or in the Spanish picaresque tale) giving us a tableau of the social conditions of an entire nation or of individual strata within human society. Not so the average German novel with its constant emphasis on individual problems: it dwells on the soul of one human being alone, delineates its development in all its minute aspects, and includes a picture of human society at large only insofar as it is necessary to describe the problems and the potentialities of the one chosen hero or heroine. Hence the growth and popularity of that eminently German type of novel, the *Bildungsroman* or apprenticeship novel, which depicts the growth of the soul of a human being and its quest of a valid philosophy of life, from the innocence of youth to

the wisdom of old age. Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* was the first great medieval representative of this kind of novel, showing Parzival's quest of the Holy Grail, his persevering, stumbling and succeeding, in spite of the follies, disappointments and failures of his youth. With Grimmelshausen's *Simplizissimus*, the outstanding German novel of the XVIIth century, the scene of the apprenticeship of the human being shifted from the romantic chivalry of the Authurian Age to the realism, the obscenity and the depravity of the Thirty Years' War—yet here, too, Simplizissimus, the hero, after a life of sin and crime, ultimately found the path to God and to inner peace. With Wieland's *Agathon*, one of the finest German novels of the XVIIIth century, the goal of the apprenticeship shifted from divine to human happiness, for Agathon, after many errors, was finally to find peace in a gently epicurean philosophy of life, and in the love of an ideal woman. Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, commonly hailed as the greatest of all German apprenticeship novels, showed that independent individualism, hitherto so dear to German poets and thinkers, could not survive in the XIXth century of social strife and civic responsibility, for Wilhelm, after a rather aimless life as *bel esprit* and wayfaring actor, ended up as a surgeon, an ideal profession, not only because it combines perfectly the skills of the brain with the dexterity of the hand, but also because it gave Wilhelm a chance to live and work for the benefit of the greatest possible number of fellow-beings.

The German apprenticeship novels of the XIXth and XXth centuries, from Novalis, Tieck and Mörike on, are too numerous to be mentioned here. Instead, I should like to point to a sub-species of this type of individual soul-searching which is particularly popular with the German authors of our war-stricken XXth century: the theme of *Wandlung*, of a sudden inner regeneration, of a spiritual rebirth of the hero. Russians like Tolstoi may originally have been responsible for this theme which showed how the hero, under the tremendous impact of some great event, suddenly revaluated all concepts and strove for a complete reorientation of his life and an ennobling of his ideals; but the very idea appealed so much to the individualism- and mysticism-loving Germans that *Wandlung*, or regeneration, helped not only to enrich the vast field of apprenticeship-novels (as e.g. Jakob Wassermann's *Christian Wahnschaffe*, known in English under the title of *The World's Illusion*), but it was taken over also into the field of the expressionistic drama (e.g. with Ernst Toller) and of lyrical poetry (e.g. with Rainer Maria Rilke and Franz Werfel).

Another most characteristical trait of the Germans we must mention here concerns the religious turn their individualistic speculations customarily take. Religion is so deeply embedded in the German frame of thinking that already Mme. de Staël exclaimed that German northern Protestatism was really much more earnestly and genuinely religious than the glittering formalism of Southern European Catholicism. This steadfast religious preoccupation can best be seen in the German history of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, for whereas the word Renaissance for Italy, France and even England meant an aesthetic, a literary, a philosophical rebirth,

it could mean nothing but a religious rebirth, a spiritual regeneration for the Germans. Let the Italians bother about such vain things as the smoothness of Petrarch's sonnets, the accomplishments of Castiglione's Courtier, or the perfection of Leonardo da Vinci's art; let Francis I. transform Fontainebleau into a glittering center of French Renaissance-culture; or let Elizabethans like Raleigh and Drake give vent to their proud Renaissance vigorousness by becoming buccaneering empire-builders in lands across the seas. For the Germans there was no problem more important than the road back to God, the reestablishment of the ideals of the Church Fathers, the *reformatio* and *regeneratio* of institution and individual alike, even though it meant schism, religious wars, death, and, ultimately also, the destruction of the German Empire. Of the three leading events in the history of modern European thought Italy had her aesthetic Renaissance, and France three centuries later had her political Revolution, and Germany, not really appreciating either of these two messages, had her religious Reformation. It could not be otherwise.

Nor were these constant religious ponderings restricted to the teachings of Luther, the mysticism of Boehme, the martyr-tragedies of Gryphius, the *Theodicy* of Leibniz, the theological deliberations of Schleiermacher, or the doubts of Strauss and Feuerbach alone. Also modern authors, apprentices all in man's heartbreaking struggle for a really valid philosophy of life, are, in the last analysis, Godseekers—not only Rilke, Werfel and Wassermann, whom I would count among the finest authors of our time, but also Hermann Stehr in his *Heiligenhof Farm*, Gustav Frenssen in *Jörn Uhl*, Max Brod in *Tycho Brahe's Road to God*, or Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer in his *Paracelsus* and in *Master Joachim Pauscwang*. The hero of such an inner regeneration, like Christian Wahnschaffe in Wassermann's novel by the same title, will be apt to give up the luxury and the millions of his father, descend into the slums and become the friend and the helpmeet of the weak and the oppressed, yes indeed of harlots, criminals and other outcasts—a new Buddha, a new Christ to go out among the lepers. No wonder that in the face of all this urbane Frenchmen like Henri Massis, in his challenging book *The Defense of the Occident*, claimed that levelheaded France alone was the guardian of Western civilization, because Asia with its oriental mysticism and its muddleheaded communism extended to the very borders of the Rhine! And, so if replying to such taunts by Western materialists, Gerhart Hauptmann in his fascinating novel, *The Fool in Christ, Emmanuel Quint*, asks just what would befall Christ if He were born again into this modern, cynical Western world of ours. Would He not to be scorned, rejected, vilified, locked up in an insane asylum as Emmanual Quint was? An endless pre-occupation with religion, an indefatigable quest of God we find even there where God seems to be enigmatic, cruel and elusive rather than kindly, helpful and forgiving, as, for instance, in Franz Kafka's *The Trial*.

And the road to God, to his own personal concept of God, every German must find alone, for nobody can help him in this hardest of all human tasks.

That had been the one great deed of Luther, that he tore every individual out of the protective hierarchy of the Catholic Church and made him face his Creator, the problem of his salvation, alone. How much better off was Dante, that most typical of all Catholic God-seekers, who on his eventful trip through the three realms of the beyond had Virgil and Cato and then Beatrice to help him, to explain, assist and warn him, to prevent him from falling by the wayside, and to urge him on until at long last he reached the sight of God! Not so Parzival (originally a foreign tale to which the Germans alone, so significantly, have given such a deep religious meaning) who, a Protestant long before Luther, had to stumble and struggle on alone in his quest of the Holy Grail, like his English fellow-Protestant, Christian, in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* without a guide to direct and comfort him. And even much worse off than he was that greatest of all German seekers of truth, Faust, who not only had no guide, no Virgil to lead him, but who had at all times at his side a Mephistopheles purposely to mislead him. Yet in spite of this deadly handicap even Faust ended up by finding his God, his philosophy of life, for, in the words of Goethe, he who aspires unweariedly is not beyond redeeming, and a human soul, through obscurest aspirations, is always aware of the one right path and, after many pitfalls and temptations, will surely revert to it.

And as we look at this nation of restless seekers we become suddenly aware of the fact that for most of them the searching, the progressing, the expanding is far more important than the finding and possessing. Faust, dissatisfied, dynamic, ever onward-rushing all his life, realized this fact very well when he stated in a significant line that possession makes lazy—and contented, static, indolent and smug he vows he will never be. For Lessing, too, the searching for and stumbling after was far more important than the finding and the self-indulgent enjoying; hence his immortal and beautiful statement to the effect that if God held in his right hand absolute Truth and in his left hand man's everlasting hunger for Truth, though with the stipulation that this hunger should never be satisfied and that man should always err in his search, and if God then said "Choose!," he, Lessing, would humbly fall into God's left arm and say: "Father, give—for absolute Truth is for Thee alone."

This statement incidentally indicates also that Lessing, commonly called the greatest of all German enlighteners, was not really an enlightener in the strict French sense of the word, because for rationalists like Voltaire there were few if any dark corners left in this universe that were not capable of being investigated and illuminated by man's keen intellectual analysis—whereas Lessing, a German and hence a mystic after all, was quite willing to admit that the ultimate answers to many questions lie with God and not with man. Let us not forget either that after the heyday of French sensualism and materialism around 1750 it was a German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, who sternly proclaimed the existence of metaphysical concepts which, to be sure, may transcend human experience, rationalism and provability, but which are none the less real, valid and eternal. Just as we previously emphasized that because of the lyrical and emotional qualities

of German literature it was not a coincidence that also German music achieved such world-famed results, so now we can emphasize, too, that this searching, speculative and metaphysical trait of the German character naturally was likewise conducive to place the Germans—Kant, Hegel, Schelling and others—among the foremost philosophers of modern Europe.

Other qualities of German literature can be deduced from the broad traits outlined above. Being an individualist, given to dreams, visions, hopes and passions of his own, the German poet will not usually be a social mixer or a courtier. Other poets and literatures may be deeply rooted in the life of a brilliant court: Castiglione at Urbino, Ariosto at Ferrara, the Elizabethans in London, Calderón in Madrid, the great French classicists in the Paris and Versailles of Louis XIV. Not so the Germans who prefer isolation, who want to go their own ways, who feel clumsy and constrained when forced into a social pattern. Classical France, the product of a brilliant society, and believing in rules, dignity and decorum, had found it to be relatively easy to establish the *Académie française* in the days of Richelieu, which became the supreme lawgiver and umpire in all matters pertaining to literature. Such coordination would have been unthinkable in the very loose republic of German letters in which each poet wished to follow his own ideals—and when, almost 300 years after Richelieu, there was finally established a feeble imitation of the French Academy in Germany it distinguished itself, in the days of the Weimar Republic, mainly by the fact that most of the leading German authors refused to belong to it; and in the days of the Third Reich it distinguished itself by a more or less complete sterility. German literature has never flourished in a socially or politically compact state; it blossomed forth in the XVIIIth century, when the Empire consisted of an exasperating medley of 300 individual Liliputian states, one smaller, quainter and more picturesque than the other; it reached its unsurpassed Golden Age during the 25 years from the French Revolution to Waterloo, when the political unity of Germany had completely ceased to exist and when the whole country lay prostrate under the heel of Napoleon; and its abundant regional literature in Mecklenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Westphalia, Swabia or Silesia in the later XIXth century could thrive only because even then Berlin was only the political and not the cultural capital of the Reich.

Of course, there was the one great exception, the exception to prove the rule, as it were: Goethe—the poet who did become a courtier, a political figure, a social mixer, and who, for several years, as Prime Minister, ruled over the little duchy of Saxony-Weimar. Yet in his *Torquato Tasso*, perhaps the most autobiographical of his many autobiographical works, he everlastingly told of the tragedy, the incompatibility, the impossibility of being a poet and a courtier at the same time. For Goethe at the court of Weimar and for Tasso at the court of Ferrara to be a gifted and sensitive genius among the smooth conventions, the intrigues and the materialistic opportunism of courtiers was too much to be borne. No wonder that in the case of Tasso the impossible situation ended in utter tragedy; he was hurt,

offended, stifled in his divine inspiration and finally driven to insanity. Goethe's own strong character could avoid a similar catastrophe, but for his fellow-German poets the message of this tragedy was none the less clear: do not ever become a courtier; instead, remain loyal to your great calling, even though the cost of greatness may be isolation and loneliness.

And, speaking of Goethe, we might add that he and Schiller were the two great exceptions also with regard to a second problem, for he and Schiller alone, in the midst of an essentially romantic Germany, all of a sudden became classicists—Greek rather than French classicists, though—and began to proclaim the validity of those very same classical concepts which the German romanticists thought they had killed off long ago. Yet it has frequently been pointed out—and correctly, I think—that Goethe's greatest fame rests upon those works of his which are either completely romantic (the lyricism of his Storm and Stress poems, the emotionalism of his *Werther*) or which hide a classical message in a thoroughly romantic form (*Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *The Elective Affinities*). If Goethe in his maturity became far more classical than his fellow-Germans wanted him to be, it was simply because he in his wisdom clearly recognized the great dangers of too much romanticism, emotionalism, mysticism and Germanism, and hence in *Wilhelm Meister* he preached that an apprenticeship novel should actually culminate in a sound education and should not lose itself merely in a wild romantic butterfly-chasing and in visionary hallucinations. In *Faust* he postulated that civic responsibility, in the last analysis, was far more important than unbridled individualism; in *The Elective Affinities* he spoke up against adulterous passions among footloose romanticists which undermine the very cornerstone of modern society, just as in other works of this period he warned against the blind and deadly hatred of the masses against Napoleon's France, or, after life's trials and tribulations had weakened the romanticists, against the cowardly surrender of their Lutheran integrity and intellectual freedom to the tenets of the Catholic Church. Our own age has come to realize to what horrible aberrations German Romanticism could lead, when emotionalism became frenzy and mysticism became racism, and Goethe was among the first Germans who tried to apply the brakes when he realized what the resulting excesses of all this might be.

All his words about self-discipline, restraint and reason were, however, of no avail, for around Goethe the romantic poets increasingly developed a typically German and romantic trait: *Weltschmerz*. It was a tragedy, not only to be a poet among courtiers, as Goethe's *Tasso* had indicated, but to be a poet among materialistic, indifferent, acquisitive mankind in general. Hence now the tremendous number of misfits in German literature, poets who suffer from world-grief, who like some of Thomas Mann's favorite characters, do not fit in anywhere, who do not belong, who feel repelled by the increasing soullessness of an industrialized world. Goethe's own *Werther*, written away back in 1773, became the ancestor of a whole tribe of gifted and sensitive weaklings at home and abroad, whose increasing despair drove them either into insanity (Hölderlin, Lenau), suicide (Kleist), voluntary exile (Heine, Platen), or who otherwise managed to lead a

thoroughly miserable and frustrated life (Grillparzer, Mörike), to embrace the comforting message of the Catholic Church (Stolberg, Schlegel, Werner) or to die a premature death (Novalis, Wackenroder). It is not the place here to speak of similar *Weltschmerz*-poets in other lands; may it suffice to state that Germany, the homeland of Romanticism, was doubly intensely affected by a multitude of such tragic misfits. Werther, Faust, Ahasverus the Wandering Jew—they all became symbols of restless and despairing seekers of happiness; even Don Juan was thrown in for good measure in a fascinating tragedy on *Faust and Don Juan* by Christian Grabbe, where the one, the seeker of the spirit, and the other, the seeker of the flesh, are shown together in their heart-breaking journey through life. And again, as so very often in the history of German culture, music and philosophy support a basic trend found in German literature—I need refer only to Wagner's *Flying Dutchman*, who, doomed to sail the Seven Seas in all eternity, despaired of ever finding peace; or to the abysmal pessimism in Schopenhauer's philosophy, such as formulated in 1819, in the midst of this romantic convulsion.

Metaphysical speculations and aimless dreaminess and melancholy and other traits so dear to exaggerated Romanticism showed themselves also in other aspects of German literature. There is, e.g., the *Blue Flower*, the famous symbol of the romantic apprenticeship novel, the goal of the vague and undefinable aspirations of Heinrich von Ofterdingen, the hero of Novalis' novel by the same name, who, unlike Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, never did finish his apprenticeship and never did find the Blue Flower and whatever it may have stood for. There is also the typical German yearning for death—another result of that romantic twilight-atmosphere of dreams and hallucinations—a trend which is very marked in Novalis' *Hymns to the Night*, yet which continues to our present age of Rilke and Hesse. Thomas Mann in his *Magic Mountain* has perhaps most convincingly portrayed this strange lure of death among the members of an over-ripe and tired civilization idling away their remaining days in a Swiss sanitorium in the Alps—though it must be admitted, too, that the hero of the novel, Hans Castorp, in the last chapters has the strength to break away from that seductive mountain of death and to plan to return to an active role in life—only, most likely, to find death a few weeks later, on the battlefields of 1914. And a third symbol attractive to the German romanticists especially during those hazy decades after the destruction of the First Reich by Napoleon in 1806 when the Germans, amidst their dreamy and idealistic speculations so dear to the mind of an observant traveler like Mme de Staël, failed to face the realities and to show the physical strength and determination to establish a new, a Second Reich: they thought their entire nation resembled Prince Hamlet, an idealist and dreamer too good for the cruel necessities of this world. The fashion of dwelling on the basically Hamlet-like character especially of Central and Southern Germany lent itself to many pleasant speculations and parallelisms until the Prussians took over in 1834, in 1866, and in 1871, and put a rude end to such idle philosophizing.

To continue with other typical traits of German literature: the German poets, in their constant preoccupaion with the problems, dreams, ambitions and idiosyncrasies of one great individual, soon came to treat frequently the tragic problem of the hero who had overstepped himself and who was not as great or divine or superhuman a figure as he had assumed he was. I am not speaking here of the numberless ill-fated rebels with which Storm and Stress literature abounds (*Prometheus, Götz von Berlichingen, Faust, Karl Moor)*, nor of false pretenders of the type of Schiller's *Demetrius;* instead, I should like to point to heroes or heroines who were born into greatness and leadership, yet who, like Goethe's Tasso, were not strong enough to pay the exorbitant price of all greatness, namely loneliness. Take Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*, supposedly a divine figure, strong, superhuman, the God-inspired leader and deliverer of an entire nation who, however, in Schiller's version, at the critical moment discovered that she was a weak mortal after all. She, of all people, fell in love on the battlefield with an English enemy of France and in her eyes she therefore now was a failure, a leader who had betrayed her divine mission and who deserved to die. The same holds true for Kleist's *Penthesilea* and for Grillparzer's *Sappho*, too, both supposedly great and immortal figures, the one the tough queen of the Amazons, the other one of the great, detached and priestlike bards of Greece, yet both of them really love-sick females at one critical moment, without pride and dignity, who resolve to atone for their weakness and shame by seeking voluntary death. Greatness means loneliness almost beyond endurance: also Wagner's *Lohengrin*, the keeper of the Holy Grail, had to learn this bitter truth, when, in spite of his God-like mission, he yearned for the companionship of a mortal woman; and Heinrich, the hero in Hauptmann's *Sunken Bell*, experienced the same conflict and tragic end when he realized what the heartbreaking implications of his exclusive devotion to art would be.

The position of womanhood in modern Germany may leave very much to be desired, but there is no doubt, astonishing though it may sound, that in German literature woman holds a place of respect and importance second to none in modern civilization. Already Tacitus in his *Germania* had marveled at the high esteem of women among the old Germanic tribes, and it cannot be emphasized sufficiently that the two great national epics of the German Middle Ages were devoted to two great women alone: Kriemhilde and Gudrun. Other heroic sagas of Europe—*Roland, Beowulf*, the *Cid, Alexander*—deal essentially with man's world, with bloody wars and daring adventures. Not so the *Nibelungen Song* which, in spite of all slaughters and blood-curdling cruelties, is, in so typical a German fashion, again the story of just one great individual, this time a woman, Kriemhilde. External events, intrigues, treachery and massacres, (we feel it as we read and reread this epic,) are not the main thing for our unknown author; what he wants to show above all, lovingly and in detail, is the soul of this important woman. He explains, in delicate stages, just how and why she changed from a tender and innocent maiden into a loving bride of Siegfried, a mature woman, a loyal wife, and how and why, after her husband's foul assassina-

tion, she was gradually transformed from a mourning widow into a frenzied and revengeful fury who, in her sadistic rage caused the deaths of tens of thousands of her fellow-Burgundians in order to avenge the death of her man. And just as in the *Nibelungen* a woman's supreme loyalty to her mate had shown itself in frightful hatred and wholesale killings, so in the second German national epic, *Gudrun,* a woman's loyalty showed itself in supreme faith, patience and endurance. Gudrun is incomparably more modern than the semi-barbarian Kriemhilde had been; even though she was kidnapped by a rejected suitor and for thirteen long years was kept in miserable captivity and humiliation in a storm-swept castle on the North Sea, Gudrun reacted passively rather than actively to all this, preserving her womanly attributes of faith, hope, gentleness and chastity until at last she was found and delivered by the man she loved. Of the authors' genuine respect and admiration for the valor and the loyalty of these two great women there can be no doubt.

Centuries later, at the peak of German Idealism, with Wieland, Schiller, and especially Goethe, woman was to occupy an even more exalted place in German literature. Goethe's *Iphigenia* is surely unsurpassed in this respect, for it portrays a thoroughly christianized heroine who through the nobility, the piety and the purity of her character alone saved herself, her frenzied brother Orestes and her curse-ridden family from doom and damnation. It is Goethe's immortal monument of gratitude for the ennobling influence Frau von Stein had had upon his own impassioned character. Men can be taught and restrained by noble women alone; there is no passion so unruly and no crime they might commit so utterly unforgivable, that the love, the kindness, the prayer of a fine woman might not help them atone for it. Faust owed whatever he learned and was to two women more than to anybody else: his relationship with Margaret taught this restlessly forging-ahead individualist and egotist the meaning of love, of unselfishness, of sacrifice and inner peace, and his mating with Helen of Troy, the symbol of Greek Classicism, perfected the aesthetic education of this prototype of German Romanticism as nothing else did. And when Faust came to die and the hosts of the Lord and of Satan were struggling for his possession, it was the spirit of Margaret who descended and interceded in his behalf, leading him heavenwards and pleading for him before God. Dante, whose ascent to heaven in the company of Beatrice had served as Goethe's model, had concluded his mighty epic by glorifying the love of God which moves Heaven and all the other stars; Goethe, however, the intense lover and grateful worshipper of women, concluded his mighty drama by glorifying womanhood which, in its finest qualities, will always draw man upwards, heavenwards.

For Schiller, too, the love of woman alone can ennoble and deify man and complete his aesthetic education, and, angered by the obscene sneers in Voltaire's *Maid of Orleans,* Schiller showed in his own work by the same name that the angelic figure of one woman, Joan of Arc, could indeed save not only individuals but entire nations from the chains of foreign oppressors and from the darkness, the follies and the faithlessness of their

souls. In Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, after even a heartless Pope had refused to forgive the hero for his sins in Venusberg, it was again the prayer of a loving, saintly and dying woman, Elizabeth of Thuringia, who achieved the miracle of Tannhäuser's salvation. Even though Friedrich Halm is a very minor figure in German literature, he should be mentioned here too, for his treatment of *Griseldis*, (in the century-long history of descriptions of the humiliations of a spineless woman), for the first time depicted a proud heroine who in the name of her own dignity and self-respect refused to return home after her brutal husband had seen fit to call her back. Exquisitive and appreciative analyses of fine womanly characters we find also in the dramas of Friedrich Hebbel, the great representative of XIXth century Realism; no wonder that in two modern novels, Gerhart Hauptmann's *The Heretic of Soana* and Richard Voss' *Two Souls*, the love and kindness of womanhood begins to make its wondrous power felt even among young priests who, in their troubled hearts, have long ago begun to doubt the validity and the ethical justification of the Catholic vow of celibacy.

The German poets' constant preoccupation with one great individual's hunger for God, for happiness, for a valid philosophy of life, has this one great disadvantage, though, that to most Germans the thought means infinitely more than the form. Perhaps some of the peculiarities of the German language encouraged this trend of presenting significant human thoughts, the result of crisis, despair and inner sublimation, in an involved complicated and laborous fashion. German literature is very rarely elegant; its ponderings as well as its phrases are telescoped one onto the other, cumbersome, heavy, at times exasperating. Not so French literature: it says whatever it has to say urbanely, fluently, wittily. In fact we may often wonder whether the cult of form—the sonority of the alexandrian, the fourteen lines of the sonnet, the polish of an epigram or the *esprit* of a novel —has not become so supreme in French literature that the depth of thought underneath it all has begun to suffer because of it. Here is certainly another instance where classical France and romantic Germany can most ideally complement and enrich each other: whenever skilled French stylists need more food for thought than is momentarily available to them, they can turn to and profit by the soul-searching, irrational and mystical qualities of German literature, as Renan, Quinet, Michelet, Gide and Rolland did, and whenever German poets, wrestling with the problems and with the angels and the devils that contend in them, feel the need of greater fluency, lucidity, beauty and urbanity, they can turn to and profit by the gifts of the genius of France, of Italy or of ancient Greece. Countless German poets and artists, from Gottfried von Strassburg and Albrecht Dürer through Goethe and Platen, and down to Stefan George, Thomas Mann and Ricarda Huch in our own days, have benefitted immensely by adding to that which was their own German inheritance—the thought—the beauty and exquisiteness of form which can be found in the Mediterranean countries. In fact, we might perhaps add that at least in the case of Germany a perfect masterpiece of literature or art is not possible unless, somehow, sometime, the artist has found it possible to amalgamate the German depth of thought

and the French beauty of form such as represented by these two leading cultural blocks of Europe.

These, then, are some of the German contributions to European literature. As we analyze them detachedly, we may consider some of them good, others potentially dangerous—but we can not deny the very great significance of their impact upon Western culture. Germany, at the cross-roads of all currents, open in every direction, the land of the middle, as she likes to be called, neither completely Western like the French nor completely Asiatic like the Russians, always has been and always will be, not only the heart, but also the battleground of Europe, where all new ideas meet, clash or blend. In her finest moments she can act as the great mediator and take over the beautiful role of cultural leadership, as she did one hundred years ago when also America came under the spell of the light emanating from Weimar, Jena and Königsberg—and in her worst moments she has become a traitor to Western Civilization, opening doors and gates wide to atavistic and barbarian forces—comparable indeed to a Faust, the man of two souls, for whose possession the forces of Light and of Darkness are struggling. For obvious reasons I have not dwelled too much on these unsavory and sufficiently known aspects of the German mentality—the fanatical nationalism in Hutten and Kleist, the philosophy of Nietzsche, the exalted racial mysticism beginning, perhaps, with Herder and leading, in the recent past, to the aberrations of the so-called Blood and Soil authors of the Third Reich and which, as you may have noticed, can very often be traced back to some undesirable aspect of Romanticism. Rather than hold a post-mortem, an inquest especially over the years from 1914 to 1945, it seemed more thoroughly worth-while and constructive to point to several traits and traditions of German culure which indicate that most of it is an integral part of the general culture of the Western, the Atlantic World after all. If we cherish all the constituent elements of this Western culture—the Romania and the Germania and the Anglo-Saxon world which is deeply and equally rooted in both these cultural blocks—then we need not fear that in the looming struggle between the East and West Germany will become a No Man's Land, uncertain of her allegiance, for with good will towards all and with malice towards none, we, for the sake of what was given to us by Beethoven, Goethe, and Kant, may yet find it thoroughly worth our while, if not imperative, to help her be anchored safely on this side of the chasm.

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THE NEW FACE OF JOURNALISM

By Phillips Russell

It is one of the signs of the times that whereas it was once possible to speak of the terms *newspaper man* and *journalist* as synonymous, it is no longer so; for although in 1950 a newspaper man may also be called a journalist, a journalist is not necessarily a newspaper man. He may be a film news man, a radio journalist, or what is latest, a televisionist.

These new varieties of journalists have all been born within the last 30 years. To see how they have all arisen, let us turn back the wheel of history for a moment and examine what might be called the five salient phases, or epochs, in American journalism:

1. Colonial phase
2. National phase
3. Sensational phase
4. Tabloid phase
5. Coming of films, radio, and television

Taking these up in order, we will begin with Benjamin Franklin, who is called the father of American journalism, father of advertising, father of printing and publishing. It was Benjamin and his brother James who gave us the first organized and respectable newspapers of what we call the standard type. We have this additional interest in Franklin—that we in North Carolina owe to him the setting up at New Bern of the first printing and publishing plant known to this state, followed by the establishment of the State's first newspaper, the 18th century North Carolina *Gazette*, printed and edited by James Davis, who had been one of Franklin's apprentices in his great printshop in Philadelphia. The characteristics of these colonial papers was a plethora of editorial comment and a paucity of news. News was gathered by heresay or adapted from the columns of the English papers that arrived on stray vessels, sometimes three to six months late. Then came the Revolutionary War, the writing of the Constitution, and the emergence of the United States as a nation.

The National Phase

American nationalism was born at Philadelphia, and so was its journalistic expression. The newspapers there and elsewhere divided sharply on partisan lines. One side reflected the views of conservatism, the other the views of the radical republicans led by Jefferson. The conservatism shaped largely by Alexander Hamilton and other Federalists underwent an extreme reaction from the French Revolution. We can see now that this revolution merely gave birth to the trading, commercial, and middle classes which had been suppressed by monarchies and despotisms, but at the same time its influence was regarded with the same horror that now attaches to the spread of revolutionary doctrines in Europe and Asia.

Let us make no mistakes about it. The newspaper files of the period show that not all the founding fathers were in favor of democracy. Indeed, no small group of eminent men made it plain that they identified democracy

with blood and chaos. Not even Jefferson preached democracy as we know it; he would have been satisfied with a moderate republicism.

From that, we must conclude that American democracy does not owe its birth to the founding fathers. No, it is the product of the pressure of the American people for an even larger, fuller, and freer life. Democracy is not a platform written by men sitting in a smoke-filled room. It is a growth out of the people's desires and experiences, and as reflecting these things, we owe much to journalism, which is no more than the history of today and yesterday.

But after a time the strife between the ideas of Hamilton and Jefferson gave place to something much more sinister, and we see reflected in the papers of the 30's and 40's the chasm opening between the North and South that was not bridged over until war had exhausted one of the contenders. The blood and chaos feared by the Federalists of the early 19th century did indeed come, but not by Jeffersonian channels. In this phase vituperation was the mark of journalism. There was still no news service except of an elementary sort.

Finally came the War between the States that might have been easily forecast by anyone reading the newspapers of the 20 and 30 years before. And this war introduced not only the first plated warships, but the first conveying and purveying of news by telegraph. When the first general permitted a war correspondent to use a military wire to send a dispatch to his paper, journalism took a great bound forward, for now it could give news as well as opinions. And this brings us to

The Post-Civil War Period

There were two characteristics of this period with which we must deal. One was the flooding of the United States with money and purchasing power due to the discovery and mining of California gold. The other was the opening of the gates at New York and other northern ports to the tide of immigration from Europe.

One of the immigrants drawn overseas by the prospect of liberty plus lots of cash was Joseph Pulitzer, a young Hungarian, while at the further side of America, in California, young William R. Hearst, son of rich and adoring parents, prepared to go to Harvard. The Hungarian went west and founded a newspaper of liberal views. The young American, tiring of other toys, came East with his California gold and began to set up papers, voicing not liberalism but radicalism. They finally met in New York where between the two of them they created a new thing in journalism—the handling of news with not so much emphasis on information as on sensation. Then followed an era of sensationalism and vulgarity which, to my mind, was the worst thing that ever happened to American journalism. It is the thing which makes us say: "Oh that is only a newspaper story."

Pulitzer created a comic strip, one of the first, having as its hero a yellow kid which is supposed to have caused the phrase, "yellow journalism." But later he turned his taste for sensation into crusading enterprises which

punctured many stuffed shirts and no doubt did much good. But Hearst went his headlong way, creating a publishing empire which competed for mass circulation, which brought mass advertising, which brought mass revenue, which eventuated in massed power.

Hearst at one time, if we believe the Hutchins report, owned 76 newspapers, 13 magazines, 8 radio stations, a feature syndicate, and one whole news-distributing service. It was a personal empire and faded as its owners did.

The newspapers which fostered sensation, however loud their headlines, were conservative in one respect—they kept to the standard type, that is, a page of 7 or 8 columns each about 20 inches deep. But without warning in 1920 a new journalistic enterprise was born into the world and suddenly we became aware that we were in the era of

Tabloid Journalism

The tabloid paper, or "tab", was only about half as large as the standard size, but its chief mark was the attention and space given to pictures. The success of the tabs and the enormous circulation acquired by their leader, the New York Daily News (something over 4 million), made students of newspapers think seriously. In time they became aware that whereas they had always assumed that the thing to do with an idea, or message, was to give it printed form, it was evident that masses of the people could not, or would not, take in an idea from the printed page alone but must have a picture to embody or illustrate it.

Up to then it had been believed that the public consisted of potential readers. But observation compelled them to realize that only a fraction of the public consists of readers—that a very large part of it consists of lookers, people not interested in texts or printed pages, however neat and meaty. Lookers just want pictures, oceans of pictures. Realization of that fact has given us such newstand successes as *Life*, *Look*, *Click*, *Pic*, and a host of other periodicals which have learned that the immature mind—and the mature one as well—wishes to feast on pictures rather than read print or study. The terrific drawing power of motion pictures should have showed journalists something but they have been slow to grasp the import.

But newspaper owners had not suffered their last shock. Almost simultaneously with the rise of tabloid journalism came the rise of radio, and with it came another new thing—

Radio Journalism

Now it was revealed that numbers of people would rather listen to news than to read it, and would prefer to hear editorial comment rather than spell it out. So was born a new and unsuspected stratum of the public—the listeners.

There we have the three great divisions of the human race, journalistically considered—readers, lookers, and listeners.

But even while we have been trying to adjust our minds to three where

we thought there was only one, still another division has come upon the scene: Now we are confronted with

Television

which is still so new that most of us living below Richmond have seldom seen it in action, if at all. In television sight and sound are united, so that the effect on the perceptions are doubled. Thus the Looker and the Listener can be married inside the same person. What this portends can now only be guessed at. Although television is so new and undeveloped, we can already see some of its effects. It tends to draw families into semi-circles around the screen after dark and thus seems about to restore to home life some of those unifying elements that have been dispersed by the automobile, the night club, and the honky-tonk. Already book and magazine publishers are complaining that television is cutting severely into their trade, and some of the organizers of certain entertainment and sporting events are ascribing a depressed box-office to the fact that people will not come out after dark in pursuit of entertainment or excitement, when they can get it at home merely by turning a button.

So far, television seems to have successfully combined some of the worst elements taken both from films and radio. Like moving pictures and wireless, television began with glorious promises. But from a respectable elevation it has descended to trivialities and to that stratum that seems to lie just beneath the outer layer of our civilization, characterized by a coarse or cynical brutality, and sometimes seemingly by a love of cruelty for its own sake.

So now instead of the printed page as our medium or communication we have the film, the radio, and the television screen, and there is in the offing still another medium—facsimile distribution.

II

I think we in the United States must realize that our high success in so many fields of human activity—political and economic observers tell us that as a nation we now stand on the topmost pinnacle of the world—has brought upon us certain penalties and weaknesses. They are to be observed in journalism, to be sure. These drawbacks became apparent 3 or 4 years ago when certain wealthy organizations persuaded a committee of distinguished citizens to examine the whole question of the usefulness and profit to the nation of the American press.

They uncovered several evils and a few virtues. I will come to the latter in a moment, but just now I will take up the two harmful trends of which the Hutchins committee—so-called because its chairman was President Hutchins of the University of Chicago—seemed to think our press was most guilty. They are:

1. Irresponsibility
2. Monopoly

The sin of irresponsibility is, I think, the direct outgrowth of the

emotional rather than the factual treatment of the news. Indeed, to be not interested in facts or the purveying of correct information but only in the sensation to be created is in itself evidence of a lack of a feeling of responsibility toward one's fellowmen. We cannot act rightly in any situation unless we have full and genuine information and its correct interpretation. We know that some of the founders of the American republic, Thomas Jefferson in especial, had great confidence in the people. Yet Jefferson often declared that the successful rule of the people was dependent on their being adequately informed. Information as to the world's doings—and the news is nothing else—is a vital constituent of a stable society. Moreover, it satisfies a basic human craving; we had much evidence of that from prisoners of war and residents of remote places in the late conflict. But information that is partial, distorted, cooked or slanted for special purposes eventuates in a poison that affects every branch of society.

I think we have recently had striking examples of irresponsibility in the reporting, news handling, and headlines writing related to the international situation. Here the sensational emphasis on points of difference instead of possible points of agreement has created an atmosphere of fear and hysteria so great that although at the moment we and Britain feel we must make yet another supreme effort to come to terms with Russia before the atomic and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, we find it difficult to do the business on any composed or rational basis.

Sad to say, news has often been highly flavored—and even distorted—with propaganda ever since the first World War showed governments they could gain certain advantages through the control and manipulation of the news; and all too often since World War II began, those persons who say of anything in newsprint, "That's only a newspaper story," have had some reason on their side.

Let me remind you of two somewhat recent political campaigns in which readers of the larger newspapers were grossly misled. In the first, when Landon ran against Roosevelt, the metropolitan press made its readers believe that Landon had an even chance. But what was the election result? Landon carried only two out of the 48 states. We are obliged to say that either the papers concerned were completely ignorant of the country's sentiments, in which case we wonder what happened to their reporters and correspondents, or they were hoodwinking their readers for partisan purposes, or to reflect their own desires.

As if that episode were not enough, it was virtually repeated lately in the Truman-Dewey campaign. Scarcely a news organization in the country foresaw Truman's triumph, while a Chicago daily, wealthy and with a wide news-gathering force, even distributed an early suburban edition that proclaimed Dewey's election. To win back the respect lost by such irresponsible performances is one of the major problems of the present-day press. It is bad enough when the press blunders, but when it acts childishly we feel a bad taste in the mouth.

The great sin of sensationalism is its creation of fear and the constant whipping up of fear as a necessary constituent of readability—fear of

Russia, fear of bombs, fear of John L. Lewis, fear of infantile paralysis, fear of labor unions, fear of crime, fear of sexual attack, fear of germs, fear of people, fear of the human race. It would almost seem sometimes that the press loves disaster. To spread out Page 1 of the average sensational paper and to catalog its contents every day would be to despair of human beings and to excuse Fate if it wiped us all out with one gigantic hydrogen bomb.

Let us now take up the second threat discussed by the Hutchins committee:

Concentration of Power

Just the other day the New York *Sun*, one of the oldest and most vigorous of metropolitan dailies, folded up and sank in the too-strong sea of competition. Before that the Boston *Transcript*, one of the anchors of New England culture, went down and out. And before that the New York *World*, the creation of Joseph Pulitzer himself and supposedly one of the strongest papers in the nation, sold out its holdings and closed its editorial rooms once crowned with a golden dome.

Coming closer to home, we can readily name large cities which have only one morning paper and one evening paper. Sometimes they have the same owner, who also controls the sole or biggest radio station. It is estimated that only 117 of the American cities in which daily papers are published now have competing papers. Such concentration of power the Hutchins report views as an unhealthy condition. "Through concentration of ownership," says the report, "the variety and sources of news and opinion is limited. At the same time the insistence of the citizen's need has increased. He is dependent on the quality, proportion, and extent of his news supply, not only for his personal access to the world of event, thought, and feeling, but also for the materials of his duties as a citizen and judge of public affairs."

All well said, yet we have to recognize the fact that if newspaper ownership is becoming unduly concentrated, it does no more than yield to the influences that have caused the same effects in other fields. We must also recognize the fact that the end of competition, if faithfully carried out, always tends to monopoly; for the strongest, ablest, best equipped and most unscrupulous is bound to win over less favored competitors. To try to prevent monopoly by law is, as I see it, futile, for the reason that a political hatchet rarely ever shows up well against an economic battle-axe. We have to admit that newspapers, like grocery stores and textile mills, must make money in order to stay in business, and any newspaper owner can say with truth that, whatever his faults, he habitually gives more public service than any other institution maintained by private funds. If we compel newspapers to minister to public needs to the extent that their books go into the red, we must somehow supply the deficit or else alter our economic system, whose chief base is the incentive of private profit.

A big publishing corporation, like any other business organization, must

have large revenues in order to survive. If it cannot draw enough from circulation, either subscribers and news-stand sales (it has been calculated that some magazines selling at 15 cents get only one-fourth of their costs back from sales and subscriptions), it must make up the difference by selling space to advertisers.

It is noteworthy that the Hutchins report does not go overboard in dealing with the influence of advertisers on news and editorials. Although I myself have been a witness of this influence, or attempts at it, I consider it in general much exaggerated.

I was once a member of the editorial staff of a metropolitan paper of consequence. One day the desk next to mine was taken by an intelligent and amiable young man with whom I became friends and I felt glad to have him for a daily neighbor. His work seemed to be entirely competent, nevertheless he disappeared. On my inquiring what had happened to him, I was told the missing man had written a published feature story in which the word "molasses" had been used in a humorous and somewhat ridiculous sense, whereupon a large molasses concern had called up and threatened to withdraw their advertising on the ground that their product had been reflected upon, and the paper had fired the author in order to appease the offended company.

At another time a young man from the provinces, who had supervision over all the illustrations in a big city paper, somehow failed to name in the caption a lady on the back row of a group of society people. A leading department store called up and cancelled $100,000 worth of advertising. An investigation showed that the missing name belonged to the wife of the advertising manager of the big store in question. The unfortunate but responsible young editor was he who stands before you this evening.

As soon as I grasped the enormity of my offense, I went home to pack my bag. I was called back by telephone and told to report to the millionaire owner. I went to his office expecting to be ground to powder or at least decapitated. Instead, I was handed a big cigar and a promotion. "Our papers," he said, "take dictation from nobody."

Dictation in that sense—I don't know any newspaper editors or owners who would allow it. No, newspapers of character cannot be successfully dictated to by advertisers, but let us admit that to a degree they can be led, persuaded, or even mildly requested to do a certain thing by a good customer and they will do it.

But I would say all this is not common. That is not the way the press is affected. Influence comes in by other channels. William Allen White, who had much experience with newspapers wrote that newspaper publishers and other men of power are apt to belong to the same club, and the same class, and to see things in the same way. "They all," wrote White, "get the unconscious arrogance of conscious wealth."

Herein, as I see it, lies the most dangerous threat to the freedom of the press. In the days when the Bill of Rights was added to our Constitution, the press was in danger of political interference, or control from governments. We in this country have never seen much governmental interference

with the press. No, in the United States political control scarcely exists. But what shall we say of economic control, or social control, by powerful and wealthy groups or organizations? To quote White again, he says many newspapers are no longer "leaders of public opinion" but have become "commercial enterprises" and "mere peddlers and purveyors of news." If they merely peddled news one could forgive them, but the sensational press of today is no longer satisfied to purvey news: it has become an amusement enterprise. It stuffs its pages not with information but entertainment, on the back of which appears gigantic advertisements. The advertisers, who are usually the big interests, pay the freight, not the public. And we know that he who pays the paper, eventually calls the tune.

III.

There are other matters dealt with in the Hutchins report but I consider them relatively minor. Those who wish to read the report in detail can find it in book form entitled "*A Free and Responsible Press*," University of Chicago Press, 1947. The committee which issued the report consisted of eleven eminent citizens, eight of them professors. The other three were a former assistant Secretary of State, a Federal Reserve head, and a college president. I think the report would have been stronger and more significant if the committee had contained one or more experienced journalists. In fact the report shows an absence of the touch that an inside hand could give. The study was financed by *Time* Magazine with $200,000 and the Encyclopedia Britannica with $15,000.

Up to this point we have dealt chiefly with the sins and weaknesses of modern journalism, and we don't deny they exist. But when all is said, the press is still one of the chief guardians of our liberties. Crookedness and corruption would grow fat in high places were it not for the skeptical eyes of newspaper writers. Fraud and pretense would camp on every corner but for the piercing stiletto of the press. The press wields the mighty engine of publicity, and even in well-hidden jungles that machine can still cut a wide swath.

The sins of the press are not peculiar to itself. It shares the weaknesses of its time and its place in the scheme of things. It will be better when it is made better—that is, when it sees and fulfils its mission as an agent of social good.

READING LIST

A Free and Responsible Press (the Hutchins Report). Univ. of Chicago, 1947

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Harris, *The Daily Press.* Cambridge, England, 1943

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PHILOSOPHY IN THE HUMANITIES

By Stephen A. Emery

This series of lectures in the humanities is now ending its sixth year. The Lecture Committee's annual statements have clearly presented the chief objectives: in an age of sensational scientific advance and tragic social conflict to perpetuate the great tradition of humane values by lectures of popular appeal but intellectual substance and perennial value, addressed orally to the local community and through the University Extension Bulletin to the people of the State.

Brilliant contributions toward this objective have already been made by a varied group of scholars and teachers in lectures on important literary men and movements, historical periods, problems in musical, visual, and dramatic art.

But, though we are all sure that these topics are both important and humanistic, we are not all clear as to the criteria used in calling them humanistic. When our students and colleagues press us on this point, some of us squirm uneasily, reply evasively, and plead other engagements. Ten years ago the Division of the Humanities even arranged an elaborate colloquium to define the humanities, thereby revealing a wide divergence of views. On the whole, the meeting provided the stimulus of disagreement more than the sedative of agreement. The cognate terms: *humanities*, *humanism*, *humane*, *humanistic*, etc., being infected with the same vagueness and ambiguity, throw little light on one another. Nor do *culture* and *cultural* help, when one considers their humanistic and sociological (even bacteriological!) uses. If we say that the humanities are the fields in which human beings are studied, then obviously the humanities fall largely within natural and social science. If, with others, we regard the humanities as those subjects which are peculiarly fitted to contribute to the "humanistic ideal", perfect development of man in all aspects of his nature, are we not becoming evasively grandiose? An eloquent colleague in mathematics once warned the Faculty not to be seduced by the soft blandishments of the humanistic troubadours. Recalling the close connection between humanistic and *liberal* studies (the studies of *free* men, exempted from vocational labor), some would define the humanities as the subjects most remote from vocational application. Then why, we are asked, is Scenery Construction and Painting (Dramatic Art 64) humanistic, while Theory of Relativity (Physics 275) is not? Surely the first course points to a pay check far more directly than the second. And these two courses are merely samples drawn from scores.

When the departments in the College of Arts and Sciences were grouped in three Divisions (Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Humanities), the Philosophy Department, because of the synoptic and judicial nature of the subject, was placed in each of the three. This position gives philosophy a peculiar blend of intimacy and objectivity in considering the humanities. Furthermore, ever since Socrates pestered cocky sophists on the streets of Athens, exposing their confused notions of wisdom, courage, temperance,

and justice, philosophers have sought above all to define terms clearly and to discern large patterns of interrelationship. The great philosophical commandment is: Seek ye first the light of intellectual insight and the warmth of enthusiasm shall be added unto you. Accordingly, it seems appropriate for this first philosophical lecture in the series to consider the broad questions: What are the humanities? What is philosophy? How are they related?

To answer these questions properly we must first gain orientation and perspective by viewing them in a larger context that comprises the whole world of human spiritual concern. Within this world we shall first note briefly the relative positions of the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities; then, in a pattern cutting across this, the places of science, art, religion, history, and philosophy. Some of the comparisons and contrasts to be made in the course of the survey may be epitomized in advance as follows: In *scope* history, philosophy, and religion are *total;* science and art are partial. In *attitude* history, philosophy, and science are primarily *intellectual;* religion and art are primarily *emotional.* We are to map on a grand scale the regions of human interest. These regions shade off into one another without sharp boundaries; they even overlap in queer, untidy ways. But, ignoring these irregular details, we want merely to find certain essential features of each region to gain a total, synoptic view. Finally, we shall be considering these large areas (natural science, social science, the humanities; science, art, religion, history, philosophy) chiefly in their recent, developed states, not in their early, crude origins. It is fairer and more fruitful to study a thing when it has reached maturity and shown what it has in it to be.

In any careful, systematic investigation of a subject we face the question: shall we adhere to the customary use of terms or define our terms to suit ourselves? The former course commonly involves the vagueness and snarl of variant customary usage; the latter course often gives the precision and order of a terminology cut off from the very persons to be reached. Obviously, in a discussion such as this it would be futile to define our terms arbitrarily to suit ourselves. In their long histories and wide use the terms have acquired subtle nuances and overtones of meaning. To ignore these would hopelessly disengage us from the wider group of thoughtful persons, who would quite properly reply: "Yes, if the terms be defined in this way, of course all the indicated consequences follow. But we don't use them in this way, nor, so far as we know, do the competent people who discuss these questions." So, we must adhere as far as possible to customary usage. Unfortunately, however, in the fields of present concern there is wide difference in customary usage. The term *humanities,* which we have already begun to examine, is the most flagrant instance, but in the others also the discrepancy is considerable. In this situation we must seek wise moderation, merge the various definitions in a composite, as it were, and assign that as our meaning.

In the traditional triad of the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, the natural and social sciences, being only neighboring fields,

included in this survey for orientation, need but cursory attention as we pass on to the humanities.

A natural science is a system of laws (general propositions about the co-existence and sequence of qualities, relations, and events), secured by formulating and testing hypotheses, and concerning some restricted aspect of the sensory world in space-time. The physical sciences consider inorganic nature and the biological sciences organic nature. A social science also is a system of laws, secured by formulating and testing hypotheses, but concerning some restricted aspect of human relations. This definition is rather honorific, for the social sciences differ in the degree to which they attempt to use, and in the degree to which they succeed in using, the methods of the natural sciences. It is significant that recently the expression *social studies* has been replacing *social sciences.* Perhaps the frequent charge, that rigorous scientific method is not fully applicable to society, has forced a retreat to the dignified, though less vulnerable, term *social studies.* In any case, we may say roughly that the social sciences (latterly, social studies) stand between the more abstract, quantitative precision of the natural sciences and more concrete, qualitative sensitivity of the humanities. Nevertheless, before moving on to the fields of chief concern let us nominally unify the natural and social sciences in this epitome by the simple term *science.*

Now for the humanities. Note: "the humanities". A definition similar in phraseology to "A natural science is . . ." and "A social science is . . ." would start: "A humanity is . . .". The very plurality of *humanities* without the possibility of the corresponding singular almost suggests an attempt to bind together by a verbal artifice subjects that do not properly belong together. Are the humanities strange bed-fellows?

We all know the importance of the term in Renaissance humanism, when the focus of attention gradually descended from God to man, and men turned eagerly to the rediscovered Greek and Latin literature for stimulus and guidance. We all know also something about the fortunes of the term as the natural and social sciences developed through the past three centuries, marking out fairly definite areas for themselves and leaving the humanities as the great residual tradition. But it appears that leading humanistic thinkers *at present* differ widely in their views of the humanities *at present.* To mention a few representative positions:—(1) The humanities are those subjects that are essentially historical. (2) The humanities are those subjects that consider concrete, individual objects (as contrasted with the abstract, general laws of science). (3) The humanities are those subjects that foster freedom. (4) The humanities are those subjects that cherish values (as contrasted with the facts of science). (5) The humanities are those subjects that provide the final synoptic synthesis. And so on. And so on. History. Concreteness. Freedom. Value. Synthesis. Discrepancy so abundant gives us pause.

The pause suggests a fresh start, more definite, local, and modest. Ignoring minor differences between institutions, we have here in the University of North Carolina a fairly representative list of departments

in the Division of the Humanities. Perhaps a study of this list will throw more light on the essential features of the humanities celebrated this evening. The alphabetical list is: Art, Classics, Dramatic Art, English, General and Comparative Literature, Germanic Languages, History, Journalism, Music, Philosophy, Radio, Religion, Romance Languages.

We must first distinguish between the centrally, essentially humanistic departments, on the one hand, and the peripheral, auxiliary departments, on the other. We do this not in any spirit of invidious comparison, but merely in the quest of a meaning. Which departments may be *temporarily* ignored in seeking the heart and core of the humanities? First, we must put aside History and Philosophy as having membership in more than one division. History is grouped with the social sciences and the humanities, Philosophy with the natural and social sciences and the humanities. These two subjects may well be suspected of hyphenated humanism and divided loyalty. Second, we note that in Classics, Romance, German, and English, language and literature are united. Strictly, of course, language study is a fundamental subject of universal application like logic and mathematics, properly belonging to each of the three divisions. It is united departmentally with literature, evidently because in literature language reaches its greatest maturity and refinement. Hence, the literary aspects of these departments appear to be more essentially humanistic than the linguistic aspects. Third, Journalism and Radio also represent fundamental subjects of the universal application in the technology of communication. They deal with the technical and professional problems involved in reporting current events and adopting scientific and humanistic information for transmission to the greatest reading and listening public. Perhaps, however, their peculiar emphasis on music, drama, literature, and religion justifies their placement in the Division of the Humanities. All honor to these departments! Their task is stupendous in difficulty and importance. This leaves us with the fine arts and religion as the heart of the humanities (*fine arts* being used in the broadest sense to include architecture, sculpture, drawing, painting, music, drama, literature). Finally, since committed at the start to consider only the quintessentials, the most focal features of subjects in this synoptic sketch, we may nominally unify all of the fine arts by the simple term *art*, as we previously unified the natural and social sciences by the simple term *science*. Then art and religion remain as the essentially humanistic subjects.

After an approach through the outlying provinces of natural and social science, with a final detour to circumvent disagreement in current accounts of the humanities, we are at long last nearly ready to answer our first main question: What are the humanities? If the humanities consist of art and religion, to discover the essential features of the humanities we must discover the essential features which art and religion have in common.

Art is a process in which one person uses appropriate media (stone, metal, crayon, paint, tone, human action, words) to construct forms that convey his aesthetic feeling to another. (*Feeling* and *emotion* are used throughout as roughly synonymous.) The person who uses media to convey

his feeling is called the creative artist and regarded as relatively active. The recipient is called the appreciative artist and regarded as relatively passive. Yet the creative artist is also passive in serving—so he often feels—as a mere receptacle for an overwhelming stream of emotionally tinged imagery and thought, demanding expression and communication. And the appreciative artist is also active in recreating the original aesthetic feeling from the artistic object which serves as the vehicle of communication.

The term *aesthetic feeling* was used deliberately instead of the broader term *aesthetic experience*. To be sure, in artistic creation and appreciation sensation, imagination, and thought are always considerably present. And the greatest artists show meticulous observation, luxuriant fancy, subtle and profound reflection. But, however faint or prominent, crude or refined, these more cognitive elements may be, nevertheless aesthetic feeling is the distinctive characteristic feature in all of the fine arts, that which marks them off from science and philosophy. What is aesthetic feeling? A peculiar kind of pleasure experienced in contemplating an object that evokes sensation, imagination, and thought in harmonious interplay. Perhaps we had better let this brief statement suffice at this stage without pressing further ino a subtle and difficult analysis.

Moreover, anyone who surveys the vast range of art (architecture, sculpture, drawing, painting, music, drama, literature) in its various periods, schools, and individual examples cannot avoid noting its partial and fragmentary nature, taken by and large. A bit of landscape or seascape, a passing mood or incident, a tangled snarl of personal relations, or even a conflict of social groups—they are all torn from a larger context and then given the quasi-unity of artistic form. Occasionally, but only rarely, and then chiefly in literature, do we find art of philosophic sweep, as in Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe.

Religion in its most mature and refined forms shows this very "nisus toward the whole" which most art lacks. As Schleiermacher saw, religion is the feeling of absolute dependence. Is the universe friendly?—this is the basic Judaic-Christian question. All the great religions of the world (Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism) are primarily concerned with man's place and destiny in reality as a whole. Yet religion is like art in its essentially emotional nature. It is the feeling of absolute dependence. Indeed, the centrality of feeling is even more obvious in religion than in art. Art lives in an empirical realm, where aesthetic feeling is inseparably mixed with the sensory objects, images, and thoughts which give it body and substance. Religion reaches out to a transcendent realm, where sensation is impossible, imagery is present only in symbolism, and thought seems all but lost in the infinite. Little but feeling is left.

Since man is intellectual as well as emotional, deep religious feeling naturally prompts thoughtful men to construct systems of propositions to support and defend their feeling. In this way religion gives rise to theology. Thus, primitive Christianity, a simple faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the supreme cosmic importance of paternal and

fraternal love, had to defend itself aaginst the dialectical attacks of sophisticated pagan philosophies, and early Christian theology was the result. But we must not confuse the original religious experience (a feeling of cosmic comfort and confidence) and the derivative theological construct. Many acute theologians have atrophied religious feeling; many deeply religious saints are theologically naïve.

Since man is practical as well as emotional, deep religious feeling naturally prompts active men to express this feeling in their overt conduct. So, their pagan associates marvelled at the behavior of the primitive Christians, wondering from what hidden, inner source these radiant lives sprang. But we must not confuse religion and morality. In many men strong moral principle is not grounded in deep religious feeling, and in many men also deep religious feeling is not expressed in strong moral principle. In short, the heart of religion is cosmic feeling, not theological thought or moral practice.

What, then, is the essential feature common to art and religion? Educated, cultivated feeling. Feeling for special parts, aspects, and episodes of the empirical world in art; feeling for the transcendent wholeness of the metaphysical world in religion. Educated, cultivated feeling is the essence of the humanities. We earlier considered five key words in opposed accounts of the humanities:—History. Concreteness. Freedom. Value. Synthesis. Our analysis points chiefly to Concreteness and Value. The humanities are not essentially historical, though like every field, of course, they have their history. The humanities are not peculiarly concerned with freedom. Man grows in freedom through growth in range and integration of personality, harmoniously adjusted to his environment. Such freedom involves all sides of human nature, not feeling exclusively. Nor do the humanities achieve the final, complete synthesis. Religion, to be sure, is a feeling of the whole, but history and philosophy, as we shall see, seek wholeness in other ways. Rather are the humanities concerned with the artistic and religious *values* found in *concrete* things, individual, unique, unitary. In the concrete things of sensuous immediacy lies artistic value; in the concrete whole lies religious value.

Although the previously neglected fields of hyphenated humanism, history and philosophy, are not central in the humanities, still they play important humanistic roles.

History reconstructs the past from present records by accurate observation, intelligent inference, and sympathetic, recreative imagination. History is an all-inclusive, universal synthesis. There is a history (actual or possible) of all past events, and hence of the development of all fields of human interest, including history itself. The stars, rocks, plants, and animals have histories, as well as the sciences, arts, and religions. Therefore, history in the broadest sense properly concerns each of the three divisions. Its absense from the Division of the Natural Sciences is probably due largely to the ability of these sciences to prune themselves as they grow, discarding repudiated theories and hypothesis. Accordingly, one can learn virtually everything of scientific (though not of antiquarian)

value in a natural science by consulting its present stage. Not so in the social sciences, arts, and religions. Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*, Homer's *Iliad* and the *Parthenon*, the Four Gospels and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* still have an important message for us.

But, if our interpretation of the humanities is correct, and their one great, distinctive function is the education of human feeling (aesthetic and religious), then our ancient humanistic treasures are great not because of their age but because of their aesthetic or religious value. Humanistic scholars, in the history of art perhaps more than in the history of religion, often tend to forget this. They carry on ambitious historical research, ostensibly to throw more meaning on artistic works in architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and literature until the historical investigations become ends in themselves and the historians are seduced by the lure of the remote. Why is a study of the cooking utensils in ancient Pompeii or the construction of Roman roads regarded as a legitimate and even respectable project for a humanistic doctoral dissertation, whereas a study of the cooking utensils or road construction in contemporary Chapel Hill would be rejected as beneath contempt?

We may note in passing the genetic fallacy (unwarranted inference from origin to value) as another prevalent danger of the historical attitude, because of its primary stress on temporal and causal relations. This error occurs whenever we ascribe to something the high or low value of its cause, forgetting that two links in a causal chain may have almost no similarity. Examples of the fallacy are countless and cover a wide range. Our proud, exclusive societies of family lineage would bask in the glory of remote ancestors. Conservative theology of the late nineteenth century showed fierce hostility to Darwin's theory of evolution through natural selection. The shocked theologians failed to see that man is not degraded by subhuman ancestry nor exalted by superhuman posterity. Man's greatness lies in his intellectual, practical, and emotional capabilities, in his ability to discover scientific laws, create and appreciate works of art, feel religious awe, and trace his own history back to the primordial slime. This greatness no charge of menial pedigree can take from him.

But the chief limitation of the historical synthesis is simply that it takes time too seriously. Time stretches back endlessly into the past (and forward endlessly into the future also, of course, though the historian's reluctance to don the prophet's mantle relieves him of the problem in that direction). So, the attempt to reach any ultimate causal explanation exhibits what Hegel aptly called "vertiginous futility". We pass from the historical into the philosophical synthesis (in this case the philosophy of history) in seeking a more unifying, integrating motif of the whole historical pageant than loose-knit, next-to-next, strung-along temporal sequence.

Here is the second main question: What is philosophy? Philosophy is the reflective study of the central concepts and mutual bearings of the chief fields of human interest. Obviously, there are no sharp lines, separating central from peripheral concepts or one field from another. Hence, there are no precise boundaries, separating philosophy from the natural sciences,

social sciences, and humanities, or these three regions from one another. Philosophy radiates out into all these fields and they converge in it. Philosophy gives them mutual adjustment, integration, and clearer self-consciousness; they give philosophy the very stuff of which it consists. Each field has its characteristically focal ideas and assumptions—*presuppositions* is the more stylish word today. These it must accept and use uncritically to inform and organize its subject-matter, thus achieving a certain measure of intelligibility. The business of philosophy is precisely to make these ideas and presuppositions clearly explicit, then to examine their meaning and validity. Each region is also related to all other regions in countless ways that throw new light on it. ("What does he know of England who only England knows?") Philosophy aims to see all regions in relation to each other, judging claims and resolving contradictions in view of the whole.

To the suspicious layman this may sound blandly supercilious. He may applaud Bertrand Russell's caustic comment: "Philosophy, from the earliest times, has made greater claims, and achieved fewer results, than any other branch of learning." Then let us illustrate these two chief functions of philosophy (reflective study of central concepts and mutual bearings) in reference to the humanities. We have now reached our third question: How are philosophy and the humanities related? Here are some ways of cardinal importance in which philosophy is expressed humanistically:

(1) *Feeling and Value.* The function of the humanities is the education and cultivation of human feeling in art and religion. The humanities consider aesthetic and religious value. So, feeling and value are essential humanistic concepts, pervading the whole field, yet in a philosophical sense taken uncritically for granted. Artists express aesthetic feeling in creating and appreciating artistic values of inexhaustible variety. Art critics pass judgment on particular works, submitted to them for appraisal in the light of their wide acquaintance with the field. So also, religious persons express religious feeling in recognizing religious values. Religious leaders through pulpit and press pass judgment here in a role somewhat analogous to that of the art critics. But the philosopher asks such questions as these: (a) Is feeling merely a subjective state of a person, like coldness and fatigue, or is it a relation, like knowing and willing, transcending the person and joining him with an object of the feeling? (b) Can mere thought ("cold reason", devoid of feeling) ever be a motive to action? (c) Is consciously emotional belief psychologically possible? That emotion *consciously* determines *thought* is the merest commonplace. We are all often aware of sanguine, panicky, or bitter moods as shaping the appropriate ideas. That emotion unconsciously determines *belief* is also the merest commonplace. We often see how the emotional moods of others shape their beliefs "underground", and we are at times painfully forced to admit that this same vicious process has been going on in ourselves. But does the belief then still persist? Do we ever believe a proposition, clearly aware all the while that we are believing it just because we feel like it? This question, you see, is of crucial importance for religious faith. (d) Is value a quality inherent in a

valuable object, like weight or shape, irrespective of any valuing person? (e) How are value and fact related? Are they ultimately identical or tragically independent? ("Blind to good and evil, reckless of destruction, omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way".) (f) To what extent does awareness of value necessarily include thinking? willing? feeling?

Western philosophy contains many acute and profound discussions of these questions in the great philosophical classics of former centuries, and especially in recent treatises, written with the benefit of the earlier thinking. Value theory is today one of the most fertile and vigorously cultivated fields in philosophy. Although far from the soporific calm of unanimity large groups of thinkers are in general agreement on many fundamental principles. Some acquaintance with these masterly analyses is supremely important to educate the humanistic educators of human feeling.

(2) *Beauty.* Though beauty is a pervasive idea in the arts, artists (*as artists*—poets like Santayana may also be great philosophers) give far more attention to the production and enjoyment of beautiful objects than they do to reflection on the nature of beauty. Questions like those above are relevant here. They also have been the topics of great historical classics and recent systematic studies in aesthetics. Here, too, is literature of basic importance for the humanist.

Chiefly in literature and drama the proper relation between art and morality is a perennially vital issue. Although literary and dramatic critics are divided as to the sense in which, if at all, art should point a moral, the plain fact remains that great literature and drama from Homer and Aeschylus to Hardy and T. S. Eliot more or less implicitly convey ethical views that exert vast influence. Consequently, it is of the utmost importance for the literary and dramatic world (those who create and those who merely enjoy) to know something about the philosophical classics and recent works in which moral values are explicitly considered, thoughtfully and systematically reasoned. Some of the greatest philosophical writing deals with this theme, and there is no adequate substitute for it in artistic suggestion or theological dogmatism.

3) *Faith.* As beauty is a central notion in art, so is faith in religion. The word has many shades of meaning. Here are a few: (a) Faith is the assent to a proposition on the authority of some person, group of persons, or institution. (b) Faith is the assent to a proposition as divinely revealed. (c) Faith is the assent to a proposition because urged by deep religious feeling. Faith in the first sense is clearly unjustified, unless one has good and sufficient reasons for trusting the alleged authority rather than rivals. So, faith here rests on reason. Faith in the second sense is also clearly unjustified, unless one has good and sufficient reasons for trusting the supposed revelation. ("If a man tell me that God spoke to him in a dream, I say he dreamt that God spoke to him.") Faith in the third sense best expresses the religious attitude, as grounded essentially in feeling. Is emotionally motivated belief justifiable? The Great Tradition in western philosophy answers: No. Beliefs should be accepted or rejected on the basis of credentials. These credentials are reasons, not feelings. The elaboration

of this thesis leads us to another important example of philosophy's humanistic expression, a clarification of the primary relation between religion and philosophy.

4) *Religion and Philosophy.* Here we meet *par excellence* an instance of philosophy as the reflective study of mutual bearings. For here philosophy is considering its own relation to religion. Each is an interpretation of reality as a whole, religion in terms of feeling, philosophy in terms of reason. Their broad, inclusive scope leads the general public to regard them as closely allied. (Book stores and catalogues will even affront them jointly with the caption: "Philosophy, Religion, and Occult Subjects".) In the Middle Ages religion, through its intellectual formulation in theology, provided a final, absolute synthesis, with philosophy as its mere handmaid. Again today, even in some public, non-sectarian institutions of higher learning, religion is claiming to be the proper nucleus for the organization of the whole curriculum.

In reply philosophy re-asserts the primacy of reason and, hence, the sovereignty of the philosophic synthesis. This is not an attitude of vain, selfish partiality. Philosophy is claiming rather that the very nature of reason, taken in the broadest sense, entails its primacy, for reason is found to be the universal medium to which even the alleged irrationalists must appeal in arguing for their positions.

They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am the wings.

Reason is simply the attitude of inclusiveness, coherence, objectivity. It seeks to see the whole picture, the parts in all their interconnections, without the distortions of subjective, personal perspective. The picture revealed to this view is reality, and recognition of it is basic to everything else. From this insight may spring feeling, but the insight occasions the feeling and is the standard by which to judge the propriety of the feeling. That we feel and how we feel is properly dependent on rational insight. To be sure, love of truth may move a thinker to reflect, in the first place, but feeling should never determine the course or the issue of his reflection. Whether or not one is moved to think rationally depends on countless factors of temperament and environment. But, if and when one decides to think rationally, his thought is subject to the principles and norms of autonomous, sovereign reason. Feeling interferes here only to warp and vitiate. In short, feeling may properly determine *that* we think, not *how* we think. Reason may properly determine both *that* and *how* we feel. Indeed, the adequacy of feeling should be measured by the degree of rational insight from which it springs. Accordingly, where we find them at their best, philosophy may be regarded as the rational ground of religion, and religion as the emotional flower of philosophy.

Despite minor strains of heresy down through the history of western philosophy (Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Bergson in the recent past, and the Existentialists today) the primacy of reason has been a cardinal principle of the dominant philosophic tradition. Spinoza's great *Ethics* gives it immortal expression in the cold majesty of syllogisms. God is the self-suffi-

cient Whole of which human beings are merely dependent parts. Every part, so far as it possesses any reality, strives to survive and increase its power as far as possible. Knowledge is power. Increase of power brings joy and love of what makes the increase possible. Therefore, adequate rational insight into the nature of the Whole (philosophy) brings supreme joy and "intellectual love of God" (religion). Religion is the efflorescence of philosophy.

5) Perhaps the best expression of philosophy in the humanities is the general plan of this lecture, however imperfectly the plan has been executed in detail. Here philosophy is carrying on its distinctive function in clarifying and testing basic ideas, and recognizing mutual bearings. Philosophy *in* the humanities seeks a philosophy *of* the humanities in this account of their essential features, their place and role in the whole realm of human interest.

In conclusion, the distinction between *philosophers* and *philosophy* is important, lest these claims for the philosophic synthesis seem vain and arrogant. However strong or weak a particular philosopher or academic department of philosophy may be, the very nature of philosophy makes it central in any college curriculum. This is the gist of a report made by five leading American philosophers several years ago after an extensive tour of the country to interview men in many walks of life. Folks think that *philosophers* can stand a lot of improvement, but they think that *philosophy* is the hope of the future. As Plato has Socrates say: "Do then be reasonable, Crito, and do not mind whether the teachers of philosophy are good or bad, but think only of philosophy herself. Try to examine her well and truly, and . . . if she be what I believe she is, then follow her and serve her, you and your home, as the saying is, and be of good cheer."

READING LIST

A few good samples of a vast literature.

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Ralph B. Perry, *General Theory of Value.* Its Meaning and Basic Principles Construed in Terms of Interest. New York (Longmans, Green) 1926.

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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL XXX NOVEMBER, 1950 NO. 2

HIGH SCHOOL WORLD PEACE STUDY AND SPEAKING PROGRAM

"HOW CAN WE HELP TO BUILD WORLD PEACE IN THE ATOMIC AGE?"

Compiled by
E. R. RANKIN

Peace Handbook
1950-51

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
CHAPEL HILL MCML

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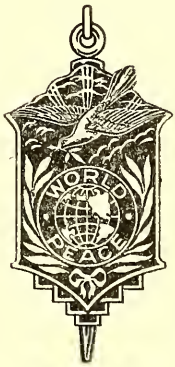

Peace Handbook
1950-51

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PURPOSE AND POLICY

By O. K. Merritt, *Mount Airy, N. C.*
Business Man, Originator of this Program

The attainment of a just and lasting World Peace is the most critical need in the history of humanity, for a World War III might well bring world destruction.

The ultimate goal of this program is to help to develop the best plan for permanent Peace. Without supporting any one controversial thesis, it is proposed to present all responsible points of view in unbiased consideration.

Since the collective conviction of the masses of our people is the foundation upon which we must build Peace, the immediate objective of this Program is to educate and focus public thinking on ways to peace.

High schools are in a position to lead public thinking in their communities. Therefore, this program of study and public speaking on World Peace is being offered to the high schools of our state and the nation.

All persons and organizations desiring peace are invited and urged to help promote this program in their communities.

> "The sum total of the common sense of the common people is the greatest and soundest force on earth."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

FOREWORD

The University Extension Division of the University of North Carolina takes pleasure in announcing the Fifth Annual High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program—a Program which exists for the purpose of encouraging the study and discussion of ways and means of building and maintaining just and lasting peace.

Two hundred and three high schools registered for participation in the First Annual Program, in the school year 1946-47, on the subject, "Is World Government the Path to Peace?"

One hundred and eighty-nine high schools registered for participation in the Second Annual Program, in the school year 1947-48, on the subject, "How Can the United Nations Be Strengthened?"

One hundred and eighty-two high schools registered for participation in the Third Annual Program, in the school year 1948-49, on the subject, "What is the Responsibility of the United States in World Affairs?"

Two hundred high schools registered for participation in the Fourth Annual Program, in the school year 1949-50, on the subject, "Building World Peace in the Atomic Age: What are the Responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations and in the Atlantic Pact?"

The central topic for this year's Program is: "How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age?" Various responsible points of view are outlined in the articles carried in this bulletin and in the references listed in the bibliography. The individual students should study all of the material available and should present in their speeches their own respective points of view on the vital question of building world peace in the Atomic Age.

This Program has received endorsement by various organizations, including the North Carolina Bar Association, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, the North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the North Carolina Junior Chamber of Commerce; by public officials, including Governor W. Kerr Scott, of North Carolina; and Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina; and by the North Carolina General Assembly of 1947. The Department of State at Washington and the United Nations at Lake Success have both indicated their interest in the Program.

Appreciation is expressed to Oscar K. Merritt, originator and generous supporter of this Program; to Samuel R. Levering, who has contributed a special article for the bulletin; and to the publishers, authors, and organizations who have kindly granted permission for the reproduction of previously published articles.

The attention of all interested in world peace is invited to the accompanying Rules and Suggestions which outline, in general terms, the methods and procedures to be followed in making this Program the most effective possible this year.

E. R. Rankin,
Director of the Program.

RULES AND SUGGESTIONS

1. This Program is open to all high schools that will conduct it in accord with its basic intent and principles.

2. The Program shall be sponsored in each high school either by the school itself or by a suitable organization or individual acceptable to the local school administration.

3. The high school principal shall appoint one member of the faculty as supervisor of the Program in the school. It is suggested that the supervisor be assisted by a committee representing the school administration, the sponsor, and the student body.

4. Each participating high school shall encourage as many as possible of its students to study the literature available and to write speeches on the subject specified.

5. It is strongly recommended that the Peace handbook be assigned for special study or as a special project in connection with suitable high school courses. The vast majority of the participating high schools have used the Peace handbook in connection with one or more of the following courses: English, History, Social Studies, Public Speaking, Government, Sociology, Civics, and Dramatics.

6. Each school shall select, by fair and suitable methods, not less than three nor more than six of its students to speak in a final public local contest. This selection is usually based first on required papers on the subject, and second on speaking ability of the students.

7. Each speech shall be not less than 6 minutes nor more than 12 minutes in length.

8. Each contestant shall prepare and deliver his own speech. He shall be entitled to oral assistance in preparation of the speech and in practicing delivery, and may use materials from any source available. All speeches must be the original composition of the individual student, and all quoted materials must be duly acknowledged. Contestants are usually permitted to have their papers before them as they speak.

9. Each high school administration and each sponsor should enlist the aid of local churches, civic organizations, the press, radio, and all other suitable mediums to publicize the contest.

10. The final public speaking contest in each school shall be held at the earliest convenient date within the school year 1950-51. (The contest date is left flexible to accommodate the Peace Program to use in connection with courses of study.)

11. The winner in each contest shall be selected by a suitable committee of judges.

12. The University of North Carolina Extension Division at Chapel Hill shall supervise the Program and serve as a "clearing house," preparing and distributing background materials and ordering for the sponsors the "World Peace" Gold Keys to be presented to the winners. (Additional "clearing houses" may be set up in other states.)

13. Each registering school shall fill out the proper registration blank and send it, accompanied by the registration fee ($5.00 for North Carolina schools and $7.50 for schools outside North Carolina), to the University Extension Division at Chapel Hill. For this fee the Extension Division will supply the school with 20 copies of the handbook and the "World Peace" Gold Key. From various adult civic clubs or other groups in the city or county, sponsors can be secured readily in most instances and in all such cases the sponsors will provide the fee. At the same time, the school can pay the registration fee from its own activity fund. In any event, the interest of adult clubs and other groups and organizations within the community is to be enlisted to the maximum extent possible.

14. At the conclusion of the speaking contest, each school shall send to the University Extension Division at Chapel Hill a report of results, giving the name of the winner, the estimated attendance, the number of speakers, and a copy of the winning speech.

15. While it is contemplated that this contest ends when a winner has been designated for each high school, continued competition may be held whenever desired, among winners from various high schools. Rules and awards for any such additional contests shall be arranged by those conducting them.

16. The school administration and the sponsor shall use all suitable means for publicizing the results of the contest, such as having outstanding speeches published in full in the local press and broadcast over the radio. Special efforts should be made to arrange for the contestants to deliver their speeches before local group meetings of the P. T. A., Women's Clubs, Service Clubs, Churches, and other organizations.

17. At the public contest, the presiding officer should explain the primary objective of the Program.

18. The "World Peace" Key should be presented to the winner immediately after the decision has been announced.

19. In so far as local methods of procedure are concerned, these rules may be revised, when necessary, to fit the local situation.

NOTE: The registration fees paid by the local sponsors do not cover the cost of operating the Program. The deficit is underwritten and paid by the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program, Inc., a nonprofit corporation whose officers and directors are business men of Mount Airy, N. C.

ENDORSEMENT BY GOVERNOR W. KERR SCOTT

It is highly appropriate that the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program is being continued for another year by the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina.

The subject, "How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age," vitally concerns every citizen of this State especially at this time; and I am sure that the study and discussion of it will be beneficial to all who participate and listen.

It gives me pleasure to endorse this program and urge the boys and girls of our State to enter into it wholeheartedly.

Sincerely,
W. KERR SCOTT,
Governor of North Carolina.

August 3, 1950

ENDORSEMENT BY STATE SUPT. CLYDE A. ERWIN

To High School Principals and Teachers:
Greetings:

I am delighted that the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program is to be continued for the school year 1950-51. The subject for this year, "How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age?", will rightfully challenge our best thinking and efforts in behalf of international understanding. In view of world conflicts which are economic, social, and political in nature, it is exceedingly important that we attempt to explore the thinking of mankind and seek solutions through common understanding.

This Program, which has already made a definite contribution toward increased interest in national and world affairs, presents an excellent opportunity to our teachers of social studies. Those who teach world and contemporary problems might well use the Study and Speaking Program as a means of stimulating research and promoting classroom forums. As discussions progress through the year, our teachers might also be mindful of their opportunity to help students formulate true impressions and develop intelligent attitudes of tolerance and good will. International cooperation is dependent upon a willingness on the part of our young citizens to extend their horizon of understanding and a further desire to live and work diligently for world peace and friendship. I hope that our teachers and our high school pupils will give this important topic and Program their best thinking and support.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,
CLYDE A. ERWIN,
State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

August 10, 1950

ENDORSEMENT BY THE N. C. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A Joint Resolution Endorsing a "High School World Peace Speaking Program" in the High Schools of North Carolina.

Whereas, it is realized that public discussion of proposals leading to the establishment of a just and adequate system under which the peoples of the world may live in peace by and under the law is of primary importance to the world today; and

Whereas, a "High School World Peace Speaking Program" is being conducted in the High Schools of North Carolina under the general supervision of the University of North Carolina which program has for its purpose the stimulating of interest in world peace among the masses of our people; and

Whereas, the said program is being conducted in more than two hundred High Schools in North Carolina this year, thereby reaching thousands of our people; and

Whereas, the said "High School World Peace Speaking Program" was organized by citizens of North Carolina and is a non-profit enterprise which has been officially endorsed by the North Carolina League of Municipalities, the North Carolina Education Association, the North Carolina State Parents and Teachers Association, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, by many civic and religious organizations and by Governor R. Gregg Cherry; Now, Therefore

Be It Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

Section I: That the General Assembly of North Carolina commends the High Schools of North Carolina, the Extension Division of The University of North Carolina, the school teachers of our state who are participating in and encouraging the said "High School World Peace Speaking Program" and all public spirited citizens who have lent their assistance toward the success of this movement and commends the same to the citizenship of the State and to all peoples interested in an early establishment of a just and permanent world peace.

Section 2. That this resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification. (Joint Resolution H. R. 945, Ratified April 5, 1947.)

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION

(Text of President Harry S. Truman's radio address of July 19, 1950, on the subject of the Korean crisis.)

At noon today I sent a message to the Congress about the situation in Korea. I want to talk to you tonight about that situation, and about what it means to the security of the United States, and to our hopes for world peace.

Korea is a small country, thousands of miles away, but what is happening there is important to every American.

On Sunday, June 25, Communist forces attacked the Republic of Korea.

This attack has made it clear, beyond all doubt, that the international Communist movement is willing to use armed invasion to conquer independent nations. An act of aggression such as this creates a very real danger to the security of all free nations.

The attack upon Korea was an outright breach of the peace and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. By their actions in Korea, Communist leaders have demonstrated their contempt for the basic moral principles upon which the United States is founded. This is a direct challenge to the efforts of the free nations to build the kind of world in which men can live in freedom and peace.

This challenge has been presented squarely. We must meet it squarely.

It is important for all of us to understand the essential facts as to how the situation in Korea came about.

Before and during World War II, Korea was subject to Japanese rule. When the fighting stopped, it was agreed that troops of the Soviet Union would accept the surrender of the Japanese soldiers in the northern part of Korea, and that American forces would accept the surrender of the Japanese in the southern part. For this purpose, the Thirty-eighth Parallel was used as the dividing line.

Later the United Nations sought to establish Korea as a free and independent nation. A commission was sent out to supervise a free election in the whole of Korea. However, this election was held only in the southern part of the country, because the Soviet Union refused to permit an election for this purpose to be held in the northern part. Indeed, Soviet authorities even refused to permit the United Nations commission to visit Northern Korea.

Nevertheless, the United Nations decided to go ahead where it could. In August, 1948, the Republic of Korea was established as a free and independent nation in that part of Korea south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

In December, 1948, the Soviet Union stated that it had withdrawn its troops from Northern Korea and that a local government had been established there. However, the Communist authorities never have permitted United Nations observers to visit Northern Korea to see what was going on behind that part of the "Iron Curtain".

It was from that area, where the Communist authorities have been unwilling to let the outside world see what was going on, that the attack

was launched against the Republic of Korea on June 25. That attack came without provocation and without warning. It was an act of raw aggression, without a shadow of justification.

I repeat—it was an act of raw aggression.

The Communist invasion was launched in great force, with planes, tanks and artillery. The size of the attack, and the speed with which it was followed up, made it perfectly plain that it had been plotted long in advance.

As soon as word of the attack was received, Secretary of State Acheson called me at Independence, Missouri, and informed me that, with my approval, he would ask for an immediate meeting of the United Nations Security Council. The Security Council met just 24 hours after the Communist invasion began.

One of the main reasons the Security Council was set up was to act in such cases as this—to stop outbreaks of agression in a hurry before they developed into general conflicts. In this case, the council passed a resolution which called for the invaders of Korea to stop fighting, and to withdraw. The council called on all members to help carry out this resolution. The Communist invaders ignored the action of the Security Council and kept right on with their attack.

The Security Council then met again. It recommended that members of the United Nations help the Republic of Korea repel the attack, and help restore peace and security in the area.

Fifty-two of the 59 countries which are members of the United Nations have given their support to the action taken by the Security Council to restore peace in Korea.

These actions by the United Nations and its members are of great importance. The free nations have now made it clear that lawless aggression will be met with force. The free nations have learned the fateful lesson of the 1930's. That lesson is that aggression must be met firmly. Appeasement leads only to further aggression and ultimately to war.

I

The principal effort to help the Koreans preserve their independence, and to help the United Nations restore peace, has been made by the United States. We have sent land, naval, and air forces to assist in these operations. We have done this because we know that what is at stake here is nothing less than our own national security and the peace of the world.

So far, two other nations—Australia and Great Britain—have sent planes to Korea; and six other nations—Australia, Canada, France, Great Britain, The Netherlands, and New Zealand—have made naval forces available.

Under the flag of the United Nations, a unified command has been established for all forces of the members of the United Nations fighting in Korea. General Douglas MacArthur is the commander of this combined force.

The prompt action of the United Nations to put down lawless aggression,

and the prompt response to this action by free peoples all over the world, will stand as a landmark in mankind's long search for a rule of law among nations.

Only a few countries have failed to endorse the efforts of the United Nations to stop the fighting in Korea. The most important of these is the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has boycotted the meetings of the United Nations Security Council, and it has refused to support the actions of the United Nations with respect to Korea.

The United States requested the Soviet government, two days after the fighting started, to use its influence with the North Koreans to have them withdraw. The Soviet government refused.

The Soviet government has said many times that it wants peace in the world, but its attitude toward this act of aggression against the Republic of Korea is in direct contradiction of its statements.

For our part, we shall continue to support the United Nations action to restore peace.

We know that it will take a hard, tough fight to halt the invasion, and to drive the Communists back. The invaders have been provided with enough equipment and supplies for a long campaign. They overwhelmed the lightly armed defense forces of the Korean Republic in the first few days and drove southward.

Now, however, the Korean defenders have reorganized, and an increasing number of American troops have joined them. Our forces have fought a skillful, rear-guard delaying action, pending the arrival of reinforcements. Some of these reinforcements are now arriving; others are on the way from the United States.

I should like to read you part of a report I have received from General Collins, chief of staff of the United States Army. General Collins and General Vandenburg, chief of staff of the Air Force, have just returned from an inspection trip to Korea and Japan.

This is what General Collins has to say:

"United States armed forces in Korea are giving a splendid account of themselves.

"Our Far Eastern forces were organized and equipped primarily to perform peaceful occupation duties in Japan. However, under General MacArthur's magnificent leadership, they have quickly adapted themselves to meet the deliberately planned attack of the North Korean Communist forces, which are well-equipped, well-led and battle-trained, and which have at times outnumbered our troops by as much as 20 to 1.

"Our Army troops, ably supported by tactical aircraft of the United States Air Force and Navy and our Australian friends, flying under most adverse conditions of weather, have already distinguished themselves in the most difficult of military operations—a delaying action. The fact that they are preventing the Communists from overrunning Korea—which this calculated attack had been designed to accomplish—is a splendid tribute to the ability of our armed forces to convert quickly from the peaceful duties of occupation to the grim duties of war.

"The task that confronts us is not an easy one, but I am confident of the outcome."

I should also like to read to you part of a report that I received from General MacArthur a few hours ago:

General MacArthur says:

"It is, of course, impossible to predict with any degree of accuracy future incidents of a military campaign. Over a broad front involving continuous local struggles, there are bound to be ups and downs, losses as well as successes . . . . But the issue of battle is now fairly joined and will proceed along lines of action in which we will not be without choice. Our hold upon the southern part of Korea represents a secure base. Our casualties, despite overwhelming odds, have been relatively light. Our strength will continually increase while that of the enemy will relatively decrease. His supply line is insecure. He has had his great chance but failed to exploit it. We are now in Korea in force, and with God's help we are there to stay until the constitutional authority of the republic is fully restored."

These and other reports I have received show that our armed forces are attacking with close teamwork and efficiency to meet the problems facing us in Korea.

II

These reports are reassuring, but they also show that the job ahead of us in Korea is long and difficult.

Furthermore, the fact that Communist forces have invaded Korea is a warning that there may be similar acts of aggression in other parts of the world. The free nations must be on their guard, more than ever before, against this kind of sneak attack.

It is obvious that we must increase our military strength and preparedness immediately. There are three things we need to do.

First, we need to send more men, equipment, and supplies to General MacArthur.

Second, in view of the world situation, we need to build up our own Army, Navy, and Air Force over and above what is needed in Korea.

Third, we need to speed up our work with other countries in strengthening our common defenses.

To help meet these needs, I have already authorized increases in the size of our armed forces. These increases will come in part from volunteers, in part from Selective Service, and in part from the National Guard and the reserves.

I have also ordered that military supplies and equipment be obtained at a faster rate.

The necessary increases in the size of our armed forces, and the additional equipment they must have, will cost about $10,000,000,000, and I am asking the Congress to appropriate the amount required.

These funds will be used to train men and equip them with tanks,

planes, guns, and ships, in order to build the strength we need to help assure peace in the world.

When we have worked out with other free countries an increased program for our common defense, I shall recommend to the Congress that additional funds be provided for that purpose. The free nations face a world-wide threat. It must be met with a world-wide defense. The United States and the other free nations can multiply their strength by joining with one another in a common effort to provide this defense. This is our best hope for peace.

The things we need to do to build up our military defense will require considerable adjustment in our domestic economy. We have a tremendously rich and productive economy, and it is expanding every year.

Our job now is to divert to defense purposes more of that tremendous productive capacity—more steel, more aluminum, more of a good many things.

Some of the additional production for military purposes can come from making fuller use of plants which are not operating at capacity. But many of our industries are already going full tilt, and until we can add new capacity, some of the resources we need for our national defense will have to be taken from civilian uses.

This requires us to take certain steps to make sure that we obtain the things we need for the national defense, and at the same time guard against inflationary price rises.

The steps that are needed now must be taken promptly.

In the message which I sent to the Congress today, I described the economic measures which are required at this time.

First, we need laws which will insure prompt and adequate supplies for military and essential civilian use. I have therefore recommended that the Congress give the government power to guide the flow of materials into essential uses, to restrict their use for nonessential purposes, and to prevent the accumulation of unnecessary inventories.

Second, we must adopt measures to prevent inflation and to keep our government in a sound financial condition. One of the major causes of inflation is the excessive use of credit. I have recommended that the Congress authorize the government to set limits on installment buying and to curb speculation in agricultural commodities. In the housing field, where government credit is an important factor, I have already directed that credit restraints be applied, and I have recommended that the Congress authorize further controls.

As an additional safeguard against inflation, and to help finance our defense needs, it will be necessary to make substantial increases in taxes. This is a contribution to our national security that every one of us should stand ready to make. As soon as a balanced and fair tax program can be worked out, I shall lay it before the Congress. This tax program will have as a major aim the elimination of profiteering.

Third, we should increase the production of goods needed for national defense. We must plan to enlarge our defense production, not just for the

immediate future, but for the next several years. This will be primarily a task for our business men and workers. However, to help obtain the necessary increases, the government should be authorized to provide certain types of financial assistance to private industry to increase defense production.

III

Our military needs are large, and to meet them will require hard work and steady effort, but I know that we can produce what we need if each of us does his part—each man, each woman, each soldier, each civilian.

I have been sorry to hear that some people have fallen victim to rumors in the last week or two, and have been buying up various things they have heard would be scarce. This is foolish—and it is selfish, because hoarding results in entirely unnecessary local shortages.

Hoarding food is especially foolish. There is plenty of food in this country. I have read that there have been runs on sugar in some cities. This is ridiculous. We now have more sugar available than ever before. There are ample supplies of our other basic foods also.

I sincerely hope that every American housewife will keep this in mind when she does her daily shopping.

If I had thought that we were actually threatened by shortages of essential consumer goods, I should have recommended that price control and rationing be immediately instituted. But there is no such threat. We have to fear only those shortages which we ourselves artificially create.

Every businessman who is trying to profiteer in time of national danger—every person who is selfishly trying to get more than his neighbor—is doing just exactly the thing that any enemy of this country would want him to do.

If prices should rise unduly because of excessive buying or speculation, I know our people will want the government to take action, and I will not hesitate to recommend rationing and price control.

We have the resources to meet our needs. Far more important, the American people are united in their belief in democratic freedom. We are united in detesting Communist slavery.

We know the cost of freedom is high. But we are determined to preserve our freedom—no matter what the cost.

I know that our people are willing to do their part to support our soldiers and sailors and airmen who are fighting in Korea. I know that our fighting men can count on each and every one of you.

Our country stands before the world as an example of how free men, under God, can build a community of neighbors, working together for the good of all.

That is the goal we seek not only for ourselves, but for all people. We believe that freedom and peace are essential if men are to live as our Creator intended us to live. It is this faith that has guided us in the past, and it is this faith that will fortify us in the stern days ahead.

"ALL FOR ONE"

(Excerpts from an address by Warren R. Austin, United States Representative to the United Nations, at Boston, Mass., June 2, 1950.)

The danger of war lies in the clash of two wills in the world—the will to dominate and the will to be free. The will to dominate by force is strongest in those communities where the will to be free has not prevailed in controlling the political and social institutions. Conversely, the relatively free society, while determined to resist domination and suppression of its free institutions, does not seek to control others by force and violence.

The will to dominate, usually under pretense of a will to do good to its captives, has twice in our century brought desolation and death to many people. Proximate causes of both wars were miscalculation on the part of the aggressors, and division among the victims. We learn from these terrible experiences that the will to be free can survive only by enlightened cooperation for security—all for one in defense. All for one in removal of causes of war.

I

The United Nations began as a movement of liberation on January 1, 1942, when the Axis forces for world domination had finally driven their victims into collective resistance. It was organized to stop the spread of domination and to liberate the occupied countries. Its first object was to smash the power to dominate, and to release the will to be free.

In 1945 at San Francisco the Charter was drafted to convert this coalition for liberation into a universal voluntary organization with the same purposes: to prevent domination by force or the threat of force, and to promote the liberation of mankind. The term "collective security" had come to stand as the symbol of defense against the will to dominate. According to this concept the liberty of one had to be the concern of all who wanted to maintain their liberty. All for one for liberty.

At San Francisco, it was hoped that the will to survive might be powerful enough to curb the will to dominate, even in communities where the will to be free had been suppressed by dictatorial regimes. If such could be the case, cooperation among the victorious large powers on the components of peace would lead to an era of tranquility. Thus, the political independence and territorial integrity of each nation, large or small, would be guaranteed by the collective support of all the members.

Only 3 months before, at Mexico City, the Act of Chapultepec had been subscribed by the American Republics. It was a regional arrangement for self-defense. The doctrine of all for one was its binding spirit. Attack upon one would be regarded as an attack upon all. All would aid in resistance. There was, therefore, in the Western Hemisphere collective security consisting of combined American military powers. It was immediately effective because of then existing war powers. It has since been perpetuated by the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro and the Bogota Pact.

Such collective security, as well as the inherent right of a single member of the United Nations, to defend against armed attack was recognized by the Charter. Regional arrangements within the United Nations, including the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Arab League, plus the British Commonwealth of Nations, strengthen the world organization in its moral powers and render less likely a breach of the Charter by aggressive war. The countries thus united have a common strength greater than armies—faith in "the right hand of His righteousness." However, they also have the belief in common that the ability to retaliate upon an aggressor with promptness and most effective force in kind and strength commands good behavior and respect.

Isolation by regions was guarded against by maintaining the supremacy of the United Nations over regional action. The safeguards implied are numerous, but the reconciliation of regional power with world power was accomplished by express provisions: One, that nothing contained in the Charter of the world organization should interfere with self-defense "until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." The other, that such regional measures taken shall not "in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council—to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."

Under the protective shield of such a security system, the governments and peoples could cooperate in the continuing struggle for the liberation of mankind. In the course of time, free from outside interference, peoples whose will to be free had been thwarted by authoritarian institutions could be expected to work out their own salvation. The freest societies cooperating among themselves through the facilities of international agencies would create the healthiest climate from the maturing of strong and capable individuals. They would thus press forward as the innovators and pace-setters in the improvement of standards of life.

Moreover, it was hoped that the burden of armaments could be lifted from the shoulders of all members by agreement on systematic reduction and regulation with international verification and inspection. With this hope fulfilled the energy and resources of all peoples would be released for production, prosperity and abundant development.

The world we had to deal with had been dangerously unbalanced by the accelerating movement for liberation. With the growing freedom of mind and spirit peoples in some areas of the earth pushed into the great unknown with pioneering minds and attained self government. But the vast majority of people remained unchanged. Many millions remained subject peoples. They did not experience the new freedom of mind and spirit and hence did not begin to exercise creative power. Some peoples tapped the power of the atom, while others had no more than yoked the power of oxen; some had extended the span of life, by application of the science of agriculture, nutrition and health, to more than 60 years, while others had an average expectancy of half of 60; some had achieved high-speed transportation by

train and motor and airplane, while many still relied on the slow pace of draught animals.

In fact, the first half of our century had witnessed an increase in the unbalance. Peoples on the same globe were living centuries apart. The vast majority were enslaved by hunger, illiteracy, isolation, superstition, drabness, and illness.

The movement for liberation had many salients—economic, social, humanitarian—all needing to be pushed forward together in order to bring equilibrium. A world community had to be built from the bottom up so that all men might enjoy similar creative power and be freed from those impersonal masters: ignorance, illness, and hard old ways of doing things.

II

The Charter of the United Nations established the facilities for carrying on this many-pronged movement of liberation, while holding in leash the will to dominate others by force. It recognized that the minority of peoples had grown away from the majority, until they were hardly able to speak across the centuries which separated them, let alone trade for their mutual advantage. Through conference, agreements, mutual aid and investment a new climate could be created which would foster the rapid growth and development of all parts of the world together. And this would be as much to the advantage of the advanced as the retarded. The splendid dawn of the principle of all for one was breaking in the heavens.

Mature men had recognized the insanity of fighting over not enough to go around when we had learned how to create abundance. They were discovering from psychological research that the will to dominate can be sublimated by being applied to the manipulation of material things instead of human beings. The potentialities of the world had barely been tapped for the good of men. Now, with modern communication and methods of education people everywhere could climb rapidly to the level of the best. During the second half of the century men and institutions could, through cooperative effort, create a new balance for their mutual welfare. They could all come to live according to the lights of knowledge and thus be liberated from darkness.

But the concept of "All for One" which was inherent in the United Nations Charter was not wholeheartedly accepted by all. The will to dominate controlling one large power reached out to take in more territory. When this will subjugated the historic little democracy of Czechoslovakia, the majority of the United Nations were thoroughly aroused and alarmed.

Two things began to be clear to them: First, that they must unite in the defense of their own liberties on the principle of all for one as the only practical means of preventing a repetition of the "one by one" method of enslavement. Second, that they must cooperate for the positive aim of strengthening each other by accelerating the movement for liberation among them.

This will to dominate not only has a powerful military force behind it,

but it moves forward by the method of infiltration. This is another way of saying that it seeks to dominate others by exploiting the existing unbalance in the world, playing with all the arts of propaganda upon the fear of famine and the desire for a better life. While this threat exists, it has to be met on two fronts because it moves on two fronts.

We should be clear in our minds that we are engaged in an undertaking that will take decades and that to abandon the cooperative effort or forsake our friends might cost us our national life.

III

It is a dangerous illusion to look for a sudden solution. But we have arrived at the point where the future is manageable. Western Europe has been stabilized and is rapidly expanding beyond the levels of the pre-war. It is clear that the will to dominate is modified by the will to survive and can be restrained by united security measures.

From this point on the free world can, if the peoples will persist in their cooperative efforts, grow in strength with new momentum because the growth of each member automatically contributes to the strength of all the others. The greatest battle was won when mind and spirit were freed so that men began to dominate their environment instead of each other. This victory gave us the means not only to resist new threats of aggression, but also the means of re-shaping the world into a community of free men with equality of opportunity to make a good life.

In the United Nations we have instruments for waging the peaceful struggle for world liberation, and the daily opportunity to find practical bases for agreement to reduce and finally to terminate the threat to the free world. By maintaining unity in our own country, building unity among as many as will stand together in common support of their freedom, we can keep the peace and eventually unite all peoples. The United Nations is the only place in the world where the danger of miscalculation can be avoided by the clear definition of common intentions.

When, as at the last Assembly, 53 nations stand together on a common platform of principles as they did in the historic resolution on the "Essentials of Peace", the minority of five are forewarned. That is the best peace insurance we can buy. Add to that the positive measures of cooperation under the Atlantic Pact, the ECA, and world development through technical assistance and you have the meaning of the concept "All for One".

Edward Everett Hale once wrote this sentence: " 'Together' is the most inspiring word in the English language—coming together means beginning, keeping together means progress, and working together means success."

Most of the nations of the free world have come together and they have made the grand beginning. So far they have been keeping together and have made progress. Will they stick together through thick and thin? Will they continue to work together over the long pull? That depends upon how well the people understand that our civilization is at stake. You can help spread that understanding.

A GREAT CRUSADE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM!

(By Samuel R. Levering, Vice-Chairman, National Executive Council, United World Federalists.)

I. WORLD PEACE IN THE LIGHT OF THE KOREAN WAR

As I write this article in late August, 1950, guns are booming in Korea. War has come. There is great danger that it will spread into World War III.

A. Why War in Korea?

Why has war come again only five years after the surrender of Japan ended World War II? The *chief cause* is the evident determination of the Soviet leadership to expand the area which they control by any effective method, including war. The attack by North Korea, approved and armed by Soviet leadership, on South Korea was a clear case of unjustifiable aggression.

The *second cause* is a series of mistakes on the part of the non-communist world, particularly the United States, since the end of World War II. Most Americans attempted to return to "business as usual". They closed their eyes to the aggressive designs of Soviet communism for world domination and to its growing success in appealing to the underprivileged peoples of the world. The tremendous destructiveness of atomic and other new weapons was not taken seriously. Not seeing these appalling threats to the survival of our free civilization, most Americans have been unwilling to throw themselves sacrificially into the great crusade for peace and freedom.

Now we must unite the presently weak and divided non-communist world and all men of good will everywhere behind the great moral purpose and practical program necessary to meet this challenge and to bring world-wide peace, freedom, economic opportunity, and survival. If we fail, we and free civilization may perish.

B. What Is the Great Lesson of Korea?

The world will no longer tolerate aggressive war. No longer may nations arm as they please and attack other nations with impunity. That "sovereign right" must go!

To paraphrase Matthew Arnold, "We stand between two worlds, one dying, the other struggling to be born." The old epoch of absolute national sovereignty is dying. The new era of world law and world government to prevent war is emerging because war has become so destructive an evil that it can no longer be tolerated.

We must also learn from Korea that:

The United States can have neither peace nor the good life if other parts of the world are engulfed in war or hopeless poverty. We must participate fully in the new world, based on concern for the welfare of all men.

C. Why Think and Plan for Peace Now?

Should not discussions of peace be postponed until the fighting is over? The answer is "no".

First, while the Korean fighting may spread into World War III, there is still a good chance to prevent it. *Second,* World War III would destroy much of America and of civilization everywhere. Certainly we should do everything possible to prevent this catastrophe. *Third,* United States leadership for peace will gain us friends and support. This might make the Soviet Union pause before spreading the war further, and would also be very helpful in case war does come. *Fourth,* even if global war comes, planning is essential now if durable peace is to follow after the war. *Fifth,* we should work for just peace because it is right. Peace is essential to fulfill our Judeo-Christian and American ideals.

II. THE FREE WORLD-COMMUNIST STRUGGLE

The world is locked in a bitter struggle between the Soviet Union and its subservient Communists, and the United States and other countries not under Soviet domination. The struggle in Korea, bloody though it is, is only a boil on a less important part of the world's body politic. The poison is more basic.

A. Armaments and Fear Lead to War

This is the old familiar story of seeking "peace" through competing military power.

The leaders of the Soviet Union are determined to gain and hold effective power in areas beyond their borders. They are quite willing to achieve this through direct aggression by the Soviet armies, as they did in Poland and Finland in 1940-41. They plan, arm and direct aggression by Communist satellites, as they are now doing through the North Korean army. They encourage Communist revolution, as they are now doing in Indo-China, Malaya and the Phillippines, and did earlier with great success in China. They train and incite Communist saboteurs, as they are now doing in Italy and France, yes, and even in the United States. They seize control of countries through local Communist parties, supported by the guns of Russian occupying armies, as they did in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Eastern Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary.

The Soviet Union has maintained armed forces which, (except for atomic and possibly other new secret weapons, naval vessels, and certain types of aircraft), are said to be more numerous and powerful than those of the rest of the world combined. These forces have been a constant threat to peace.

The United States and the democratic world, on the other hand, largely disarmed their land forces and reduced their naval and air forces after World War II. Their assumption was that peace was ahead. Perhaps they placed considerable reliance on their temporary atomic monopoly. First gradually, and now swiftly, they are re-arming.

History shows that unless this arms race can be stopped, World War

III almost certainly will follow. As stockpiles of weapons rise, fear rises also, and finally some incident sets off the explosion.

B. Battle for the Hearts and Minds of Men

The second phase of the struggle between the West and the Soviet Union is to obtain the support of mankind, particularly of the billion impoverished people in Southeast Asia and of underprivileged people in Europe and elsewhere.

People everywhere want at least five things: (a) peace; (b) bread and tolerable and improving economic conditions; (c) respect as human beings; (d) self-government in local affairs, as contrasted to government by aliens; and (e) personal freedoms and impartial justice under law.

1. Communist Propaganda and Our Position

Communists appeal for the support of people everywhere by claiming that they favor these ideals, and oppose their opposites. In contrast, the United States and the democratic world have done relatively little to identify themselves with the peoples' deeply felt wants and needs.

a. Peace

Communist world propaganda recently has emphasized the "Stockholm Appeal For Peace". This calls for outlawing the atomic bomb and brands any nation which first uses it as criminal. A majority of Communist North Koreans had signed this appeal just before they attacked South Korea! Such hypocrisy! However by constant reiteration, Communists have gained support and led many people to believe that they want peace.

The Russian Security Council representative, Jacob Malik, has been urging "peaceful settlement of the Korean war," meaning Communist rule of all Korea. We have said "no" to such phony proposals, and also to Nehru's peace proposals, but have not offered any constructive program for peace in reply. The negative policy has lost support for us in Asia.

We have also failed to win support because we have lacked a positive program for general peace. Instead we have offered negative opposition to communism. This policy has lacked appeal to many of the world's people.

b. Bread and Economic Hope

Communists promise the poor of the earth more food, better clothing, improved housing, etc. They paint a glowing, though largely untrue, picture of economic progress in Russia under Communist rule. To the nations where poverty and biting hunger are the normal lot of most people, such as India and China, the glittering promises of communism have much attraction. The promise of the moon is nice, even though Communists could not deliver!

The United States has not convinced many of the world's people that we are interested in the improvement of their economic welfare, or that they can achieve tolerable conditions under liberty and democracy.

However, the Marshall Plan has been very helpful. By making tolerable

conditions possible for Western European peoples, it has checked the spread of communism, and also gained considerable friendship and support for the United States. President Truman's Point 4 Program to provide technical assistance for economically backward countries also could help greatly. However, its $34,550,000 authorized amount is only a drop in the bucket. Nehru recently has said that the amount was so small that it would be of little value.

c. Respect As Human Beings

Communists say they offer yellow, brown, black, red and white men equal opportunity and respect. When we recognize that two-thirds of the world's people are non-whites, this is a strong Communist argument.

Some racial practices in the United States are a serious handicap in building friendship with the people of India and other non-white people throughout the world. Our real progress in providing better opportunity and treatment for non-white Americans is helpful.

d. Self-government

Communists violently attack "imperialism," under which Western countries have ruled other peoples, particularly in Asia and Africa. The Communists do not mention the new form of imperialism—Russian domination and rule over Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and other satellites. But by attacking the old type of imperialism, Communists gain much support, for example, in Indo-China and India.

The Western world has improved its position by granting self-government to the Philippines, India, Ceylon, Burma, and Indonesia. Indo-China, Malaya, and parts of Africa require similar treatment.

e. Personal Freedoms and Impartial Justice Under Law

The Constitution of the Soviet Union gives lip service to these great human ideals and aspirations. In practice it destroys them through dictatorship, concentration camps, and slave labor.

The West's record of political and economic justice is greatly superior and should be made clear to the world. It is a moral and practical citadel in our struggle against communism. We should not weaken this citadel by supporting Franco and other dictators, even though they may be anti-Communist. We must also maintain freedom of thought at home and refuse to brand as "communism" honest independent thought and expression.

The Soviet Union has gained support since the end of World War II. This is particularly true in Asia. Communist strength is also greater in most of Europe, other than Great Britain. However, in Europe the object lesson of concentration camps, inefficient production in Russia, and Russian rule of satellite countries is a strong argument against communism.

Unless the tide can be turned so that the world's people will support liberty and democracy instead of communism, disaster lies ahead.

The United States, with few real allies, may find itself fighting a majority of the world's peoples in a war which cannot in any real sense end

in "victory", even in the sense of establishing effective control over enemy territory, not to speak of preventing devastation of the United States itself. Defeating 450,000,000 Chinese, for example, is an almost impossible job, as the Japanese found out. Their modern armies could hold key cities and railroads, but the Chinese guerillas held the countryside.

Stated simply, there are not enough Americans, even aided by other similar Western peoples, to conquer, occupy, and control the rest of the world against the hatred and opposition of its peoples.

For the future of all mankind as well as for our own survival, it is imperative that democracy regain the initiative and build much broader common unity and purpose among the world's peoples.

III. LESSONS OF THE LAST FIVE YEARS

What must we learn from the experience of the five years following the end of World War II?

A. World Peace Requires a Bold New Program

All of the old proposals for peace have been proved inadequate. Events have discredited these ideas:

1. Isolation

This traditional American policy, fairly effective in keeping America out of war prior to 1914, rightly was rejected at the end of World War II. Aggression in Korea should finally discredit this outworn policy. Most Americans now realize that our peace and security depend on peace all over the world.

2. Appeasement

Events have shown that appeasement of the men in the Kremlin would be as futile as appeasement of Hitler at Munich, and infinitely more dangerous because of the greater potential strength of the Soviet Union.

3. Preventive War

The revulsion with which Englishmen, Frenchmen, and other friendly peoples have reacted to proposals by irresponsible Americans that we should start World War III has shown that such action would be fatal to our moral and military position. We would then face an immensely difficult war almost alone. Even militarily, this would make American victory very doubtful.

4. Heavy American Armament or Unilateral Disarmament

Many Americans have believed that we could depend for peace on American atomic bombs, intercontinental B-36 bombers, large naval strength, etc.

Some Americans have believed that if the United States disarmed, even while other nations remained heavily armed, peace would result.

The United States and the democratic West have partially followed

both policies. But neither American atomic bombs nor disarmament in ground forces while the Russians maintained many army divisions has prevented the war in Korea or lessened the likelihood of a global war.

This is exactly what could be expected. There has never been a major nation which armed heavily and thereby obtained lasting peace. Always some other nation or group of nations also has armed and war has come. History also shows that disarming while other nations remain armed does not bring peace. Some nation which builds up armaments considers the disarmed nation easy prey and conquers it.

Attempting to maintain peace through large or small national armament is even more hopeless in an atomic age when new discoveries can destroy overnight any theoretical balance of power.

5. Armed Containment and Drift

Since the Truman Doctrine was announced in 1947, it has been the chief reliance of American foreign policy. We have attempted to check Communist expansion by military and economic aid to threatened countries.

This policy has met considerable temporary success in Europe, especially because of Marshall Plan economic assistance, but it has largely failed in Asia.

The United States lacks resources to make this policy effective all around the borders of the communist world. Containment also has proved too negative a policy to rally the support of middle peoples and thereby check the expansion of communism. At best, containment is only a stop-gap. Something much more dynamic is needed.

6. The Present United Nations

The United Nations has proved valuable in settling minor disputes; in helping in a small way to meet the needs of the world's people for food, better health, education, etc.; and as a forum to air disputes and problems. In Korea it is a symbol of the world's desire to establish effective law against aggression. Certainly the United Nations should be supported and used fully.

Yet both the Korean war and the mounting danger of world-wide conflict testify that the present United Nations is not enough to keep the peace. Something much stronger and more effective is necessary.

B. We Must Understand the Requirements of Peace

Peace anywhere, in communities, in states, in nations, or for the world, has the same requirements. *First*, is the will to peace, consisting of brotherhood, self-interest, and enough justice and hope for economic improvement to make conditions tolerable for most people. *Second* is the machinery of peace, which has always meant relatively just government and law.

1. The Will to Peace

Peace does not require that everyone should be fully good, in the sense of being motivated primarily by brotherhood. In peaceful communities

everywhere, only a minority are so motivated. They constitute a necessary leaven by which peace is maintained and further improvement made.

The majority of people are motivated primarily by self-interest. Yet they do not engage in killing or the more violent types of stealing, because it would be unpleasant if these things were done to them, if for no other reason!

Where hunger or poverty or oppression or other injustice becomes intolerable, and hope for improvement is not present, whatever peace there is may be destroyed by civil war. This has occurred countless times in history. Maintenance of peace, at least for long periods, requires that conditions be tolerable or that improvement shall occur.

2. The Machinery of Peace

The will to peace can be made effective only through relatively just government, with laws, courts, and police. Peace has never proved possible under anarchy, and never will unless every one becomes a saint. Only through government can violence be reduced to a minimum, disputes be settled peacefully, necessary changes be achieved without bloodshed, and common loyalty be built.

A good example of the necessity of law and government for peace was the Boston police strike of 1919. On the day before the strike, peace and order prevailed. But with the police on strike, criminals were unrestrained, trucks backed up to stores, owners were driven to the back at gun-point, and the loot loaded on. Notice that the people of Boston were the same before and during the strike, with the same degree of brotherhood, self-interest, justice and economic opportunity. The difference was the presence of law and government before the strike and of anarchy during it.

3. Are These Requirements Present for World Peace?

Probably there is now enough of the will to peace to make at least precarious world peace possible. The Judeo-Christian religion has carried the message of brotherhood to the end of the earth. For the first time in history, self-interest is on the side of peace. In the past nations became rich and powerful through victorous war, or successfully protected their countries against destruction by invaders. This is no longer possible. In atomic war both "victor" and "vanquished" would suffer severely.

Nor is the present danger of war between the United States and the Soviet Union due primarily to injustice or lack of economic opportunity. Both have ample resources to meet the needs of their people. Hunger and hopelessness among other peoples contribute to the spread of communism and thereby increase the danger of war. But there is still time to meet the needs of these peoples before they are likely to go to war to improve their condition.

But the world lacks adequate machinery for peace, which means at least a minimum of world law and world government to prevent preparation for aggression and aggression itself. This must be established quickly or World

War III is almost certain. As long as nations are free to arm as they please, some nation is certain to use these arms to attack others. Today that means world war, sooner or later.

C. United States Leadership Is Essential

We cannot escape our responsibility. No other nation can supply the leadership for world peace and prosperous free civilization. Either we do so, or we will reap the harvest of war and destruction for ourselves and our world.

As the pioneers of federation, we must lead the movement for peace under world federation. As one of the few nations which produce an excess of food, industrial machinery, goods of all kinds, and technical skill, we must use the United Nations to get this excess to other nations, and thereby give their peoples hope of improvement under democracy which will keep them from turning to communism. This is our obligation and our opportunity.

IV. A POSITIVE PROGRAM FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

In the light of the experience of the last five years and the requirements of peace, what program offers the best chance of preventing World War III? What program offers the best chance of survival and a decent world afterward, should World War III come? Fortunately the same program is best for both purposes.

A. Strengthen the United Nations

The program offering the best chance for preventing World War III is the necessary minimum of world government. Should World War III come, the best program for building the foundation of justice and hope is world government. World government can best be achieved by strengthening the United Nations.

The United States alone cannot build or maintain peace. Nor can peace be secured by agreements between the United States and other sovereign nations, or by military alliances. What is necessary is joint action by all nations, or by all who are willing to act, through an organization of which all are members and in which all have a voice.

1. United Nations Weaknesses As Shown by Korea

In Korea the desire of the world to prevent and resist aggression has expressed itself through United Nations action. Probably history will record that this is a first, though small and halting, step toward establishment of world law and world government. However, this crisis has emphasized the basic weaknesses of the United Nations.

a. The United Nations Lacks Power to Stop the Arms Race and Prevent War

Here are some of the reasons why this is true:

(1). *Preparation for Aggression.* The United Nations cannot prevent preparation for aggression. It has no authority or organization to do the

necessary job of inspection and enforcement. For example, what was needed to prevent aggression in Korea was a United Nations inspection force operating in both parts of Korea to see that weapons were not made or stockpiled or troops prepared for aggression.

(2). *Method of Enforcement.* The only enforcement provided to the United Nations is *war against aggressors.* United Nations action in Korea may be called "police action", but it is actually war, killing countless innocent Koreans, and bringing infinite danger of spreading into world-wide conflict. This method of enforcement, threats of war or actual war against nations, has never worked successfully throughout history.

What is needed instead is world law against the manufacture or the possession of weapons threatening the peace, *enforced primarily against individuals responsible* for breaking world law. This is the American federal system under which our federal laws are enforced. For example, if a citizen of North Carolina violates a federal law, war is not declared against the State. The person is arrested by a federal marshal or a member of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) and taken to a federal court for trial.

(3). *No United Nations Forces.* Since the United Nations had no armed forces of its own to use in Korea, it had to depend primarily on those of the United States. In the early stages "resistance by the United Nations" was largely a fiction.

(4). *Revenue.* The United Nations lacks dependable revenue. For example, it had no funds to raise and equip forces for use in Korea.

(5). *The Veto.* Only absence of the Russian veto from the Security Council allowed the United Nations to take action. With the Russians returned, they doubtless will attempt to block further United Nations actions.

(6). *No Effective World Court.* The World Court lacks compulsory jurisdiction to deal with such disputes as the false Communist charges that South Korea attacked North Korea.

b. The United Nations Cannot Meet the Needs of People

In South Korea, the United Nations during the last three years should have been able to give much greater assistance in improving economic and health conditions. This would have reduced the appeal of communism to the South Korean people. This would have strengthened their will to resist Communist aggression, and might therefore have averted such an attack.

Similarly, the United Nations should be able to render greater assistance in India, Iran, and many other countries and thereby help to build stable democratic societies.

2. Control Armaments through Transforming the United Nations into Limited Federal World Government

a. No Other Method of Disarmament Is Acceptable

This is the only hope for ending the arms race and preventing eventual war. Unilateral disarmament (the United States disarming while the Russians continue heavily armed) is out of this question. Whatever may be

thought concerning the morality of such action, the American people would not accept such a course. Neither would Americans accept disarmament by treaty between us and the Russians, dependent on the good faith of each for its enforcement. Americans remember Japanese violation of a similar treaty made after World War I and members of our armed forces dying in front of fortifications built in violation of that treaty.

b. What Is Required

(1). Clearly, full and free *inspection* to see that the terms agreed upon are carried out is an essential part of any acceptable program of disarmament.

(2). Dependable *enforcement*, to apprehend and bring to justice individuals violating the agreement, and to stop such violations, is another essential. Clearly, this means an international civilian inspection and police force, such as our FBI, supported by international armed forces, when needed.

(3). To guard against such forces becoming a tyranny, *democratic controls* over them would be necessary, including a *veto-free responsible executive*, a *legislative body* to adapt the basic agreement to new weapons and new conditions, and *courts* to try alleged violators and to settle disputes between nations.

(4). Adequate and dependable *revenue* would have to be provided, which the United Nations now lacks.

This adds up to real government, on the world level, for control of armaments. Nothing less than this could possibly stop the arms race and give the peoples of the world justified confidence that the danger of aggression had been removed.

c. Disarmament of Nations and an International Armed Force

The original agreement should provide for immediate elimination of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. It should also provide for prompt and drastic reduction of conventional armaments such as naval vessels, military planes, tanks, and men under arms in the Soviet Union and other heavily armed nations.

The agreement also should contain a schedule whereby remaining conventional armaments would be reduced, step by step, over a period of years, to minimum amounts required for international policing purposes. Each step would be verified by United Nations inspection to protect all nations.

An international armed force also would be established and gradually built up. This world armed force would be small, at least during the early years until full confidence had been established. During this period, the United Nations would still have to depend, in case of major rebellion, on a "World Guard", consisting of armed forces of nations on call by the United Nations. Thus President Washington had to call on the militia of Virginia, Maryland and Eastern Pennsylvania to put down the whiskey rebellion in 1794, and even today our states control their National Guard, which is also on call by the federal government.

d. How Can This Be Done?

A review conference under article 109 of the United Nations Charter can be called at any time, without veto, to draw up amendments which would give the United Nations such effective power to control armaments. This conference should be called immediately. Soviet participation in this program of general reduction and control of armaments through the United nations is vital, since if the Soviet Union refused to take part, reduction of armaments would be impossible and war would still be likely. Soviet participation doubtless would require simultaneous settlement of problems such as Germany and Japan. If this could be achieved, and United Nations inspectors actually were operating freely within the Soviet Union, the danger of World War III would be tremendously reduced. Every reasonable effort should be exerted to this end.

This all-out effort to achieve world-wide control of armaments under law would greatly strengthen the moral position of the free world. This honest proposal to establish real peace would gain much additional support from people all over the world who deeply desire peace. If the Russians refused to participate, the blame for continuing the arms race and the danger of war would rest squarely upon them. In the eyes of many of the world's people, the United States is partially to blame at present.

e. A Federation, without Russia, within the United Nations?

The Soviet Union probably would *not* now agree to participate in such a genuine program of reduction and control of armaments. In that case, the United Nations should be left as it is, for its value as a possible bridge with the Soviet Union.

A federation with greater powers then could be set up *within* the United Nations, just as the North Atlantic Pact was formed within the United Nations. Because of the urgency of strengthening the non-Communist world, probably such a federation would be set up promptly with the broadest possible membership. It would establish joint control of armaments and some joint armed forces, and would also carry out a voluntary program of mutual economic assistance. As long as the Soviet Union remained outside and heavily armed, this federation would also be heavily armed.

If a majority of the world's people were ready to participate in this less-than-universal federation, and if it was always open on a fair basis to any nations not yet participating, its establishment would strengthen the non-Communist world, in the following ways:

(1). *Mutual Economic Assistance.* Such a program would be particularly helpful where present conditions of food, health, education, etc., are notably unsatisfactory. Real improvement in such conditions within members of the federation would check the growth of communism, and be a real attraction to people in Russia and her satellite countries.

(2). *Deter Communist Aggression.* Russia would know that an attack on any member of the federation would mean war against all members

of the federation. This is not true of the present United Nations. Conquerors always have tried to divide and conquer one nation at a time. A federation of the non-Communist world would eliminate this Communist opportunity.

(3). *Unity in a Common Cause.* Joint forces of the federation would be composed of mixed nationalities, clear down to the company level. Had such a joint force been posted in Korea, Americans and Frenchmen and Indians and South Americans and other nationalities would have fought together, resisting the Communist attack. The people in all these countries would then have taken a much more vital interest in defeating the aggression. Nor would there be neutrality or separate peace in case of other Communist aggressions. Furthermore, it would be clearly evident to the Koreans and other Asiatic peoples that the intervention in Korea was police action on the part of the United Nations.

(4). *Defense of Japan and Western Germany.* This problem cannot be solved by rebuilding large national Japanese and German armies. No one knows whether they might not again threaten the peace. But Japanese and Germans, as a part of the federation's armed forces, could help to defend Japan and Western Germany from Communist attack, without these dangers.

3. *Build Justice and Economic Opportunity through the United Nations.* In the long run, peace depends on local self-government and on tolerable and improving conditions of economics, health, education, freedom, and human rights. The United Nations already is contributing to improvement of these conditions through the Economic And Social Council and through the Trusteeship Council. However, the total annual budget of these permanent agencies is less than $30,000,000, which is about the same amount spent annually by the street cleaning department of the city of New York!

Bold expansion of the work of these voluntary United Nations agencies is essential. Senator McMahon has suggested that atomic armament should be eliminated and conventional armament reduced by two-thirds, both under strict inspection control, with the resulting savings, over a five year period, being devoted to a great program for human welfare through the United Nations. If the Soviet Union would participate, this would mean that the United States would contribute ten billion dollars a year for five years and other nations in proportion.

Mr. Walter Reuther recently proposed that the United States should agree to spend thirteen billion dollars a year for a hundred years in a great program for world-wide human welfare. If the Russians would agree to effective disarmament, they would participate in the program. If they did not agree, it would operate in those countries willing to cooperate for peace and freedom.

Such large sums may seem unreasonable. However, it is estimated that World War II will finally have cost the United States a total of $1,300,000,000,000, which would be the same as the cost of the hundred year program Mr. Reuther suggests. Probably some such bold program would be the

cheapest and best insurance against the immensely greater cost and devastation of another war and against the destruction of freedom by communism.

Work in this field through the United Nations should continue on a *voluntary basis.* Government rests primarily on consent, which means that compulsory powers can be given to the United Nations only where there is deeply felt common interest. At present such common interest probably is limited to survival, and to control of armaments which would contribute directly to survival. There is not now enough common interest to give the United Nations power to raise funds by taxation for world-wide welfare programs.

Later on, doubtless additional powers should be given to the United Nations, as nations are ready to do so through amending the Charter, but not at present. Not in the foreseeable future, could the United Nations be given the power to eliminate tariffs and immigration barriers.

The importance of United Nations work to meet the needs and wants which are closest to peoples' hearts cannot be overestimated. The battle between liberty and communism cannot be won on the battlefield, but in the long run only in the rice fields of China, the villages of India, and everywhere that the siren song of communism is appealing to the poor and hopeless of the earth.

B. Achieve a Just Peace in Korea

This is the present tinder box which can all too easily burst into world War III. Every effort should be made to end this war quickly. Every day that it continues increases the danger of war on a broader scale.

Some of the important factors in settling the Korean war follow:

First, the United States, through the United Nations, should make proposals for ending the war in Korea promptly, before United Nations troops reach the 38th parallel. *Second,* settlement of the Korean war should provide for unification of Korea. *Third,* settlement of the Korean war must not legalize gains won by the North Korean Communists through aggression. *Fourth,* much of Korea will have been devastated by aerial bombing and other fighting when the war ends. It will be essential to provide real assistance both in food and reconstruction, if democratic government is to endure. *Fifth,* every effort should be made to prevent Communist China's becoming involved in the Korean war, and no good pretext must be given the Russians for involving their troops. *Sixth,* our proposals for peace in Korea should include a proposal for general peace through strengthening the United Nations as discussed above.

C. Let the World's People Know!

The first essential is to have a sound and inspiring program which appeals to people's desire for peace, economic improvement, respect, self-government, and freedom. To present such a program has been the purpose of this article. It is also necessary to get our message across to the world's people.

Therefore, the Voice of America should be improved and expanded to reach more people throughout the world. Illiterate people in India, for example, get much of their news and form their opinions from listening to the village radio. At present the Soviet Union is doing a much more thorough and effective job in reaching these people with its false message. We must counter such falsehood with truth.

V. OPPOSITION AND OBJECTIONS

A. Who Oppose This Program to Strengthen the United Nations?

a. *Communists.* The first group opposing strengthening the United Nations is the Communist party. This is reflected in frequent attacks by "Pravda," and "The Daily Worker" against the United World Federalists and others working for developing the United Nations into a limited world government.

b. *Isolationists and Extreme Nationalists.* The second group is composed of isolationists and extreme nationalists.

c. *Gradualists.* The third group consists of people who have been afraid that attempts to strengthen the United Nations might in fact weaken it, for example, by leading to Russian withdrawal.

d. *Honest Doubters.* The fourth group is composed of those who have honest doubts whether the world is ready for limited world government, and whether the difficult problems involved in its establishment could be solved in a way which would be workable and would safeguard America.

B. Answers to Opponents and Doubters

Comment on Communist opposition is useless except that this is additional evidence that the Communist party does not want peace. *Isolationists* should learn from Korea that peace and survival for the United States depend on world peace. *Gradualists* also should see from Korea that the United Nations, if it is to live, must be strengthened.

Now for brief comment on the most important doubts and objections raised to strengthening the United Nations.

1. *Can even limited world government be successful without more common interest and background among the world's peoples?* This question has been answered under IV-A-3 above.

2. *Is there serious danger that limited world government might become a dictatorship, used perhaps by Communists to destroy our liberties? The* answer is "no". *One* safeguard is the fact that the armed forces of the strengthened United Nations would contain "World Guard" units, under the direct control of the respective nations. There would be no all powerful world armed force. *Another* safeguard is that armed forces directly under the United Nations would be mixed units, and could therefore not be used for selfish purposes. A *third* safeguard would be that the United Nations executive would be a body, like the present Security Council, on which all major nations would be represented. A *fourth* safeguard would be the Constitu-

tional limitations of the compulsory powers of the United Nations, restricted to the control of armaments. A *fifth* safeguard would be that representation should be based, in one house of the revised Assembly, on economic development. This would give the United States, which produces about 50% of the world's industrial goods, and like-minded nations, a clear majority there. The other house should be based on population, with some educational qualification, which would protect populous nations such as India against arbitrary action by the West.

3. *Would there be danger that the United States would be over-run by immigrants, or that our standard of living would be destroyed by a flood of cheap goods from abroad or by heavy taxation of the United States by the revised United Nations?* The answer again is "no". The powers of the strengthened United Nations should not, in the foreseeable future, include the power to eliminate tariffs or immigration barriers. Its powers to tax would be strictly limited, for example, to perhaps 3% of a nation's income.

The amendment process, through which any additional powers might later be granted to the United Nations, would amply protect the United States. For example, any amendment for submission to the nations for ratification might require a two-thirds vote of both houses of the revised UN Assembly and ratification by three-fourths of the world's nations. Such a provision would mean that no amendment would be possible which was not acceptable to the United States and other economically advanced countries, and *also* to the populous underdeveloped countries.

There should be no "implied powers" in the revised UN Charter, such as have been used to extend the jurisdiction of the United States federal government.

4. *Could democratic and Communist countries participate in the same world federation?* The answer is "yes". They have done so in the United Nations and could logically do so in a federation with power to control armaments. Each country would be free to conduct its own internal affairs as it saw fit, with no interference from the world federation.

It is true that both types of countries could hardly participate in a world federation with broad economic powers, but this is not what is proposed.

VI. WHY SHOULD WE SUPPORT STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS?

A. The American Way

This is the tested and proved American way to peace. The United States, 160 years ago, developed federal government, with division of powers, enforcement by both levels of government directly on individuals, and with dependable revenue for both levels. This system of federal government has been copied by federations all over the world, and has worked well everywhere. The time has come to apply this great American political invention to world affairs through federal world government.

B. The Right Way

This is the right way to peace. It is wrong that the world suffers slaughter and war instead of settling disputes peacefully through courts. It is wrong that women and children in large numbers must die under relentless bombings. It is high time that "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal" should be made fully applicable to nations, as well as to individuals, through enforceable international law.

C. This Is an Immediate Practical Program

Support for strengthening the United Nations into a federation with power to make, interpret, and enforce world law to prevent war has grown greatly in the United States. In the present Congress, 111 Representatives and 22 Senators are now jointly sponsoring resolutions for this purpose.

In England, 40 members of the Parliament recently introduced a resolution calling for an immediate conference under article 109 of the United Nations Charter.

A large number of nations abroad have already supported the same idea. For example, the new Constitutions of France, Italy, and Western Germany provide for pooling necessary sovereignty to prevent war.

If the United States will support strengthening the United Nations, a conference under article 109 can be held even in 1951. World peace under enforceable world law no longer is a distant dream. It is a present possible reality.

D. It Is Your Responsibility and Mine

In our democracy, responsibility for vision and leadership rests on you and on me. Our government can act only where we understand and support. It is the glory of our democracy that your opinion and mine *do* help to determine our own and our country's future. Now the challenge is to help build world peace and freedom through a United Nations strengthened and transformed into a world federation. You and I must see that this is done.

Enlist in the great crusade for peace and freedom! This is your greatest opportunity to serve God and your fellowmen.

THE ATLANTIC PATTERN FOR FREEDOM

(Excerpts from an address by General Omar N. Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, at Chicago, Ill., April 14, 1950.)

Whether we recognize it or not, the American people have decided to hold and save Western Europe for the free world.

In this decision, we are counting on the wholehearted cooperation of the other North Atlantic Treaty Nations. We especially require the utmost efforts of the peoples who live in Europe, and who must make the major contribution toward saving themselves.

Although we may not have realized it at the time, we Americans have been making this decision for the past nine years. In the Atlantic Charter

in 1941, we announced to the world that Americans wanted peace, and wanted the world to be free from aggression. When the United States, and this principle, were attacked, we went to war to defend it, and ourselves.

While the battles raged in Europe and across the world in the Pacific, the basic promise—cooperation for peace—was stated again in the United Nations Charter.

At the end of the war in 1945, we assumed that the peace had been won, and that no participant in that war would again endanger the tranquility, or deter the economic rehabilitation of Europe.

With the agreements at Yalta, and the plans for the future made at Potsdam in 1945, Americans felt that they had assured the future cooperation of all nations who had been on the side of victory in World War II.

Almost immediately we disarmed. And to speed the economic reconstruction of war-torn countries, we fostered the Marshall Plan, inviting all nations of Europe to participate. Significantly, some nations in Eastern Europe declined the invitation.

Then in February of 1948, we were jolted from complacency to cold war by the seizure of Czechoslovakia. Americans were stunned. But we were not convinced that this meant any permanent disruption of our orderly program for reconstruction and peace. However, our friends in Western Europe were not so unwary. A few days after the Iron Curtain clanked down on Czechoslovakia, the Brussels Pact was signed for 50 years of collective security.

In April and May of 1948, the Italian elections began the cold war operations of that spring. Communism failed in that struggle, and Italy was aligned on the side of peace. But the line was drawn. From Stettin to Trieste, the boundary between freedom and aggression was established.

The American people were confused by all of these events. But our decision in favor of Europe and freedom was not revoked. In the United Nations, we continued to uphold the spirit of the Charter. In the Berlin airlift, we gave Europe a symbol of American determination.

Under the shadow of the wings of the airlift, the free nations of the West were drawn together, and in April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was born.

One year ago this month, we joined with eleven other nations in a pact for the collective defense of the North Atlantic area. For the uneasy peace needed a policeman. The political aggression which skulked under the cloak of a cold war had to be discouraged. It is our hope—and the hope of the friendly nations in the North Atlantic community—that this Pact provides the opposition to aggression—both political and military—which might disturb the peaceful progress we all desire.

For the American people, there is a great difference in the situation today and the situation nine years ago. At that time, our national attitude had not been crystallized. In 1950, however, this long succession of acts has given proof that the United States has forever forsaken isolation for international cooperation.

By charter, by treaty, by action—with dollar after dollar—the Western

world has been helping to build a community of nations to establish peace in the boiling caldron of Europe. Germany and Austria—former enemies of the allied nations—remain in the category of unsettled problems. If our means have been less than perfect, and our policy less than steady, Americans can be excused by the lack of suspicion that was ours.

I

Today, the Atlantic pattern for freedom is unmistakable and almost complete.

Against this background of decision by the American people, your Secretary of Defense and I participated in the Defense Ministers Committee Meeting and in the Military Committee Meeting two weeks ago in The Hague. The Military Committee recommended to the Defense Ministers, and the Defense Ministers recommended to the North Atlantic Treaty Council, certain plans and organizational programs for the security of the Atlantic community.

Our discussions were rooted in the belief that the North Atlantic Treaty coalition could create a combined strength for collective security and, through self-help and mutual aid, build a greater deterrent to aggression than we have had so far.

Just a year ago, this Pact was signed in Washington. Four months later, it was ratified by the governments of all the signatory nations. Two months later, the first meetings of the Defense Ministers Committee and the Military Committee were held in Washington. At the second meetings in December, the Military Committee and the Defense Ministers Committee suggested to their governments a concept of military strategic guidance, which was accepted. It is the concept upon which our defensive plans are founded.

In four short months since that concept was first approved, the Regional Planning Groups and the Standing Group have drawn up the first general estimates of the forces which might be needed to deter aggression, and to hold the common frontiers in the heart of Europe. The plan includes provision to keep open the vital supply lines—within the regions, and from nation to nation—that must link these countries if all are to be protected. Each military chief who participated in this planning at The Hague realizes that this is merely a preliminary estimate—a gross plan which needs much refinement.

Like any military plan, it must be subject to constant revision. Personally, I cautioned that the total forces prescribed—air, land and sea forces—were of such dimensions that the twelve governments of the North Atlantic Treaty might consider them beyond our reach. However, at every step the Military Committee pointed out that this first plan, drawn in bold strokes, only establishes a blueprint which can be modified as duplications are ironed out, and refinements are made.

Further, our exchange of information among the twelve nations—and for that matter, among the five Regional Planning Groups—could not be

nearly complete in four short months. With an improvement in our security arrangements, and an improvement in the exchange of intelligence information, we may be able to scale down the requirements, and speed up the early implementation of the defensive plan.

It would be a mistake to lead the American people, or any of the member nations of this Pact, into thinking that we now have a complete master plan for the integrated defense of the North Atlantic area. But we do have a beginning from which we can work. The spirit of cooperation, and the profound dedication of these other nations to the self-help principle is most encouraging. They realize that they must not wait for the United Sates to carry the load and pay the bill. They realize the tremendous need for each nation to subscribe wholeheartedly—financially, economically, and politically—to the collective defense.

One of the small nations of this Treaty made the most significant suggestion. The spokesman said that in approaching the buildup of its armed forces, this small nation found that, even with the help which could be expected from the United States, its financial resources would be sorely taxed to make an adequate contribution to these defensive plans.

His statement was not preliminary to a further request for aid. Rather, it was made in the hope that all nations would realize the present shortcomings, and that those who were not wholeheartedly contributing to the implementation of the defensive plans would reexamine their efforts. It was even suggested that somewhere within the North Atlantic community of nations, a central body be set up to indicate to each of the partners the means, the rate and extent by which his armed forces must be expanded.

Just as the spokesman for that small nation indicated, as these defensive plans develop, traditions will have to give way to reality. And even our own balance of United States forces—if we expand beyond the present levels—may have to give way to the theory of national specialization, which will fit into an overall balance for collective defense.

The defensive plans made at The Hague, and submitted to our Government, need not change the balance of forces, nor decrease the appropriations requested from the Congress for the Armed Forces this year. The forces of the North Atlantic Treaty organization are so modest and so needful that every soldier, every ship, every plane, and every weapon counts, and will not be wasted. But in the future years, we must consider most carefully what our friends can best contribute before we decide what the American dollar should buy for the collective defense.

II

I feel that 1950 is the year of the turning point. A change in American thinking that began in 1941 has been confirmed by a series of actions—the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Military Aid Program—to the point that this nation, in its role of world leadership, can willingly make the first

contribution of national sovereignty to the collective security of the Western world. If necessary, in future we can identify our Armed Forces so closely with those of our allies, that we can achieve a collective force for mutual security. This is in keeping with the principle that each nation must provide that for which his resources, and his geographical location are best suited.

Step by step, and frequently working from crisis to crisis, we have developed a pattern of security for the Western world. It was like building a fence across Europe in the face of the Iron Curtain. With the Marshall Plan, we dug the post holes; with the North Atlantic Treaty, we have set the posts. If that fence is to be effective, it needs a strong mesh of wire that can only be provided by well-equipped, integrated military forces.

The military aid from this country to the armies, navies, and the air forces of our friends will help provide the strong mesh of wire for the allied fence. The first shipments have begun to flow; the organizations and the technical help are in place, ready to receive the equipment. Actually, however, it is too early for proof that this aid has already made positive contribution to the strength of our mutual defenses. It will take time and training, and further adaptation, before we can bring you a complete report.

Nevertheless, if there is going to be wire on this expensive fence that we have built with our friends around the land-holding of this community of nations, we will have to continue to aid these forces. We will have to maintain our present strength and improve it while each other nation steadily improves along with us.

Because the world is divided at the moment, we face the possibility of international aggression. It is the gnawing threat with which we must live. But it is my hope—it is the American determination—that the tendency for aggrandizement, and the use of force will gradually diminish. This North Atlantic Pact and the security plans which it has evolved—is the world's greatest example of economic-political-military integration for peace.

History has shown us that a treaty can become a mere scrap of paper. So far, in its first year, this Treaty has been transformed into a living thing, an influence for peace, a deterrent to aggression.

We would be less than realistic if we did not realize that for the past two years, the atomic bomb, the American Air Force, and the tremendous industrial potential of this nation and its allies have performed miracles in discouraging aggression. But with our continued help and support, it is my firm belief that the North Atlantic Treaty and its organization for security and for defense can rapidly become a greater force for peace than any single nation can provide— a greater deterrent to war than any bomb that ever existed.

STATEMENT BY JOHN D. HICKERSON

(Excerpts from the testimony of John D. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State, at the Hearings conducted during the period February 2-20, 1950, before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, as carried on pages 427-430 of the Hearings.)

This resolution (Senate Concurrent Resolution 56) proposes that the Congress go on record as favoring the strengthening of the United Nations and seeking its development into a world federation as a fundamental objective of United States foreign policy. This federation would be open to all nations and would have defined and limited powers adequate to preserve peace through the enactment, interpretation, and enforcement of world law.

These are matters which the State Department or the Government cannot alone decide. They must be decided by the people, by the country as a whole, and when any decisions are made we have got to mean them. They are as fundamental as any constitutional questions with which we have had to deal since 1789. Since the considerations are of basic importance to the daily lives of every American citizen, they must be understood before adopting the objectives sought in this resolution.

I do not wish to imply in raising these questions that it is not fruitful to work toward the establishment of a more closely integrated world community of the kind we all seek. But I must state frankly that we in the State Department are not convinced that the world federation which might be developed from this very general resolution would necessarily prove to be the way to achieve this. It would be unfortunate if, by placing emphasis on this particular organizational pattern, we should fail to make use of every conceivable tool that may be devised to meet the problems with which we may be confronted from time to time.

In our efforts to define the objectives toward which the people of the world should rally, let us not make the mistake of too narrow a definition. The general direction of United States foreign policy should be toward the establishment of a world community in which there are effective standards of conduct applicable to all, within which nations may live at peace despite the diversities of their political, economic, and social institutions, and which will permit those who share common objectives to work toward them in a manner consistent with the peace and well-being of all.

I

Any proposal for world federation must deal with certain stubborn and inescapable facts.

Among the predominant characteristics of the world today are still hunger and ignorance. Two-thirds of the world's people live on less than adequate diet, one-half are illiterate, and only a minority live under truly democratic governments. How would a world federation based on demo-

cratic principles prosper in such a setting? We should recall from our own history that it takes more than a constitution, more than a framework, to construct a federation. We must also keep in mind that there exist profound traditional differences among nations based on history, differing political institutions, economies, and geographical conditions.

If we proposed to go into a world federation, some compromise, at least some adjustment, would be necessary. Just how far are we willing to go in compromising our way of life and our institutions? It would be most dangerous to assume that other nations will agree that the American way of life is the best, and that for them to go into a world federation would mean to join our concept of a federal union.

There must be obviously some common basis between the majority and minority to make a workable concern of any international organization, and in particular so close an organization as a federation. There must be some agreement on fundamental laws and institutions. We have known from our own national experience that law is effective only when it does represent common ground among the people. There must be some assurance that the majority will not take advantage of the minority and that the minority will not suspect the majority of injustice. A police force in order not to be a menace to its community must have an accepted body of law to enforce. It must be an arm of the government which has the respect and confidence of the people. What law and what institutions would govern the world federation?

The agencies of the proposed world federation would presumably enact, interpret, and enforce world law. This means a federal legislature in which the United States would be only one of the areas represented. Are the American people willing to abide by laws enacted not necessarily with their concurrence? It also assumes a federation judiciary to interpret those laws. Are the American people willing to subject themselves to the decision of the courts of the world federation? It further assumes a federation enforcement arm. This conceivably could be an enforcement arm against the will of the American people. Then there is a question of financing the federation. Are the American people prepared to agree to be taxed in support of the federation? Since we are wealthier than any other country our share would be proportionately higher.

As Senator Thomas has so wisely suggested, let us take advantage of these hearings in an effort to find terms of reference for our further study and debate.

II

Discussion of international organization can be most fruitful when it concerns itself specifically with objectives to be sought, practical steps toward these objectives, including organizational forms, and possible effects of such steps on the United Nations. As a first step perhaps we should reexamine what the United States undertook to accomplish through the creation of the United Nations.

There was broad support for the UN concept as indicated by the Connally resolution of the Senate of November 5, 1943. This resolution declared that the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The objectives are embodied in the United Nations, which is a going international concern on a world basis. We cannot afford to risk jeopardizing or losing what we have without some real assurance that we are getting something better in its place. Proposals for world government must be considered in that light. Their proponents have a burden to show specifically that what they propose offers a better chance of attaining our objectives and has a real chance of a general acceptance. Perfection of constitutional form does not necessarily increase our chance of grappling successfully with the security problems confronting us.

This does not mean, however, that organizational forms should not play an important role in the development of national thought. Organizational form is often the most exact manner in which to define objectives. It might be helpful to the American people if within the framework of the resolutions introduced by Senators Tobey, Sparkman, and Kefauver there were developed in some detail answers to such questions as the following and a public awareness of their implications:

(a) What form of parliament is contemplated?

(b) What voting arrangements? What basis for representation? Would the United States be a minority?

(c) How could there be assurance against tyranny? What guaranties for rights of minorities?

(d) How much will the American people have to say about the level of their taxes? About the utilization of their resources?

(e) Exactly what legal authority would the world federation have over United States citizens?

(f) Would the officers of the federation be representative of states or elected as individuals?

(g) What safeguards are involved in insuring disarmament? Would it be necessary to place international observers in key industries? Would international control of key industries be necessary?

(h) Is it technically feasible to have an international armed force in a disarmed world? What problems would be involved? How, for instance, would it be equipped? With what weapons? Would you need internationally controlled industries? Where would the force be located?

(i) What changes in the United States Constitution are involved?

(j) What changes in the constitutional authority of the Congress are involved?

We recognize that the growth of a world community requires the existence of an impressive beacon which reflects the aspirations of the world's

peoples. We recognize the importance of working through the standards which have been set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. We recognize the concern of the American people and their desire to review under present world conditions what we undertook to accomplish in creating the United Nations. We also recognize that organizational form can contribute to clarifying public understanding of what they do and do not want to accomplish through international organization.

But for the reasons given we cannot support this resolution.

III

Senator Thomas of Utah. Senator Smith?

Senator Smith of New Jersey. There was one question brought up in the discussion of this resolution which impressed, I think, all of us a great deal, and that had to do with the substitution of the rule of law for the rule of force in determining international difficulties. Now, the advocates of this approach argue that unless you look forward, at least, to some sort of a world organization and the development of some kind of world law, you will never get to the place where the rule of law will govern the affairs of men. You will still have the rule of contest and force. That is the main line that struck me as the most impressive argument advanced for this particular proposal.

Do you take the position today that we must postpone the immediate goal, at least, of world law in the place of force? Do you think it is so out of reach, that we ought not even think in terms of it in the future?

Mr. Hickerson. By no means do I think that, Senator. I think we should debate these measures, we should promote the widest public understanding of these measures, and I think that of course we should work toward some kind of world law. We must feel our way very cautiously, Senator, in this thing. We must recognize that since the beginning of organized society the best thought in every community has tended to be in terms of some collective system of security and some system of world law. But we must recognize the difficulties in the way.

I feel very strongly that we should continue to study, to endeavor to understand the issues involved and to explore ways and means under the Charter of the United Nations of working toward that objective.

I do feel very strongly that setting our sights on and setting forth the objective of world federation is not the way to achieve that.

FINIS TO NEUTRALITY

(An editorial in The New York Times for June 25, 1950.)

Two committees of the Senate, voting jointly and unanimously last week, wrote the final paragraph of what we may take to be the last chapter of the history of American neutrality. It has been a long history, beginning in the early days of the Republic, when we were trying to keep clear of the

Napoleonic wars. It seemed to our forefathers, and it seemed to many Americans well on into the present century, that we could best serve humanity as well as ourselves if we avoided entanglement in other people's wars.

Europe's armies had scarcely begun to march in August, 1914, when President Wilson declared that "we must be impartial in thought as well as in action." As late as December, 1914, Mr. Wilson described the great conflict then going on in Europe as "a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us." Less than three years later Mr. Wilson had to change his mind. For the concept of neutrality and good offices toward all the belligerents he had to substitute the policy of choosing sides and of helping to batter down the great Power which emerged as the enemy of civilization.

Mr. Wilson failed to persuade his countrymen to accept in time of peace the responsibility that had to be accepted in time of war. We stayed out of the League of Nations because adherence to the principles of the League might some day have involved us in war against an aggressor nation. The chance that this would happen because of the League covenant was a thin one, but it existed. As the situation in Europe grew tense during the Thirties the isolationists staged their last campaign. The Neutrality Act of 1935 forbade the shipment of munitions to any belligerent. In 1937 the act was broadened to cover civil wars, so that, although we were on friendly diplomatic terms with the Loyalist Government in Spain, we shut off all aid to it as soon as Franco attacked it.

Not until 1939, after the Second World War had begun, did we give up the illusion that by sticking our national head into the sands of neutrality we could be safe against attack. Lend-lease, which passed into law in March, 1941, wiped out at one stroke the old restrictions on the export of munitions and other needed supplies to our friends who were involved in war. Before Pearl Harbor neutrality in the Second World War had dwindled to a legal theory. We were not at war until Dec. 7, 1941, but we were serving our own interests by providing warlike exports where we judged they would do the most good.

The Senate Committees of Foreign Relations and Armed Services joined last week in approving the $1,222,500,000 program for continued military aid in Europe and the Near and Far East. They added:

"The ability of democracy to survive in the face of the present power threat of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites depends directly upon democracy's ability to defend itself. No nation can be neutral in the face of this threat, nor could any nation hope to remain neutral if a conflict were to break out."

This is a plain statement of fact. We cannot be indifferent to the fate of other free peoples, because if they lose their freedom we will lose ours.

The passing of neutrality is a result of the rise of a new and world-shaking issue. We could be neutral when nations of a comparable level of civilization struggled for territory or for power. We had come to regard such struggles carried on at the expense of human blood as criminal. They seemed to many of us a sort of international gang war. But that sort of

war among civilized nations is obsolete. The kind of war which threatens us is a war between those who would destroy our kind of civilization and those who propose to maintain and improve it.

We labor to prevent that war. We are eager to put our theory of civilization to the test of fertility and productiveness and to match it, without shedding a single drop of blood, against the competing systems of human society. But we cannot have this opportunity, and we do not increase the chances for peace if we permit any misunderstanding as to the principles which we intend to maintain. We must say in advance, and other nations free or groping toward freedom must say the same, that we shall not be neutral if our own system of society and the nations supporting it are anywhere attacked. That assurance was not given in 1914. It was not given in 1939. Two World Wars took place. Now we must make this new declaration in the hope that it will discourage any plan Soviet Russia and its satellites might have for extending their power by a third world war.

CHURCHILL URGES EUROPEAN REARMING

(Excerpts from Former Prime Minister Winston Churchill's address to the Council of Europe, at Strasbourg, France, August 1, 1950.)

The Soviet forces in Europe, measured in active divisions, in air forces and in armored vehicles, outnumber the forces of the Western Union by at least six or seven to one. These are terrible facts, and it is a wonder that we sit here in our new House of Europe calmly discussing our plans for the future happiness and concord of our peoples and their moral and cultural ideals. It is a wonder, but at least that is better than getting into a panic.

The danger is, of course, not new. It was inherent in the fact that the free democracies of the West disarmed and dissolved their forces after the war, while the dictatorship in the Kremlin maintained gigantic armies and labored by every means to reequip them.

Two years ago the Western Union pact was signed and a number of committees were set up which, as M. (Paul) Reynaud (former French Foreign Minister) and others say, have been talking ever since. Imposing conferences have been held between military chiefs and experts, and a pretentious facade has been displayed by the governments responsible for our safety.

In fact, however, apart from the establishment of the American bomber base in England, nothing has been done to give any effective protection to our peoples from being subjugated or destroyed by the Russian Communist armies with their masses of armor and aircraft. I and others have given what warnings we could, but, as in the past, they fell on unheeding ears or were used to sustain the false accusation of warmongering.

Now, however, suddenly the lightning flash in Korea and the spreading conflagration which has followed it have roused the whole free world to a keen and vehement realization of its dangers, and many measures are

now proposed, which, if they had been taken two years ago, would at least have yielded some fruit by now. What is now proposed and should have been done two years ago might well have gone half way to meet our needs. I do not doubt that, as the realization of our mortal danger deepens, it will awaken that sense of self-preservation which is the foundation of human existence.

This is now going forward. The British Socialist, Mr. (Maurice) Edelman, reminded us of the immense superiority in steel, in oil, in aluminum and other materials on which the defense potential of the free nations rests, but much of this might be the prize of the aggressors if we were first struck down.

M. Andre Philip said on Tuesday that "France did not wish to be liberated again." After a period of Russian Communist occupation there would not, as M. Reynaud has pointed out, be much to liberate. The systematic liquidation of all elements hostile to communism would leave little which could be recognized by the rescuers or by the survivors.

We in this assembly have no responsibility or executive power, but we are bound to give our warning and our counsel. There must be created, and in the shortest possible time, a real defensive front in Europe. Great Britain and the United States must send large forces to the Continent.

France must revive again her famous army, welcome our Italian comrades. All—Greece, Turkey, Holland, Belgium and Scandinavia—all must bear their share. Courage and unity must inspire us and direct the mighty energies at the disposal of our governments to solid and adequate measures of defense.

Those who serve supreme causes do not consider what they can get, but what they can give. Let that be our privilege, let that be our rivalry in these years that lie before us.

The question which challenges us is: "Shall we have the time?" No one can answer that question for certain. To assume that we were too late would be the very madness of despair. We are still under the shield of the atomic bomb, possessed in formidable quantities by the United States alone.

The use of this weapon would shake the foundations of the Soviet regime throughout the vast areas of Russia, and the breakdown of communications and centralized control might well enable the brave Russian peoples to free themselves from a tyranny far worse than that of the Czars. It seems very likely that such possibilities will constitute an effective deterrent upon Soviet aggression at least until they have by a lengthy process built up an adequate supply of atomic bombs of their own.

There is another reason why the general armed assault by the Communists against the Western democracies may be delayed. The Soviet dictator has no reason to be discontented with the way things have gone. Since the World War stopped in 1945, they have obtained control of half Europe and of all China without losing a single Russian soldier, thus adding nearly 500 million people to their own immense population.

They have a wealth of opportunities for creating trouble and tempting us to disperse our forces unduly through the action of their satellities. It seems that Tibet is to be the next victim. Engaged in these diversions, they are able to preach peace while planning aggressive war and improving their atomic stock-pile.

But in my judgment we have a breathing-space, and if we use this wisely and well, and do not waste it, as we have already wasted so much, we may still greatly increase the deterrents against a major Communist aggression. It is by closing the gap in the defense of the Western Powers in Europe that we shall find the surest means not only of saving our lives and liberties, but of preventing a third World War.

If in the next two years or so we can create a trustworthy system of defense against the Communist invasion, we shall at least have removed the most obvious temptation to those who seek to impose their will by force upon the free democracies.

This system of defense in the West will alone give the best chance of a final settlement by negotiation with the Soviet on the basis of strength and not of weakness. But there is not a day to be lost nor a scrap of available strength to be denied.

As I have already said, this assembly has no power to act, nor do we seek to relieve the responsible executive governments of their duties.

We ought, however, to make our united convictions known. We should send a message of confidence and courage from the House of Europe to the whole world.

Not only should we reaffirm, as we have been asked to do, our allegiance to the United Nations, but we should make a gesture of practical and constructive guidance by declaring ourselves in favor of the immediate creation of a European army under a unified command, and in which we should all bear a worthy and honorable part. Therefore, I propose to you the following resolution:

"The assembly, in order to express its devotion to the maintenance of peace and its resolve to sustain the action of the Security Council of the United Nations in defense of peaceful peoples against aggression, calls for a unified European army subject to proper European democratic control and acting in full cooperation with the United States and Canada."

I trust this resolution will by an open and formal vote receive the overwhelming, if not, indeed, the unanimous support, of this assembly. This would be the greatest contribution it is in our power to make to the safety and peace of the world.

Let us, therefore, go forward together, sure at least that we have done our duty.

(Note: The Churchill resolution was approved, substantially as stated above, 89 to 5, with 27 abstentions.)

STATEMENT BY JUSTICE ROBERTS

(Exerpts from the testimony of Owen J. Roberts, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, at the Hearings conducted during the period February 2-20, 1950, before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, as carried on pages 232-240 of the Hearings.)

Peace remains precarious; indeed our so-called peace seems little better than an armed truce. Why is this? Because a nation that despises our ideas and our institutions, and proposes, if possible, to destroy them, grows ever more powerful.

First, Soviet Russia today controls one-third of the surface of the earth. Her foreign policy is a mixture of old-fashioned imperialism and modern fifth-column tactics. These tactics have enabled the Soviet to annex or take over the governments of Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Eastern Germany, and now, China. Meanwhile, democratic nations have, through the UN, made to the Soviet offer after offer of cooperation. Offer after offer has been rejected by Russia, which, in 5 years, has exercised the veto power 41 times to block every move toward world peace and world cooperation.

Today the Kremlin dictatorship threatens Asia from Iran all the way to Japan. It threatens Europe from Turkey and Greece to Scandinavia. It is turning Germany into a powder keg capable of exploding into World War III.

The Soviet is in possession of the atomic bomb. Soviet production and economy are controlled by the state for the strict benefit of the clique that rules the state, and without regard for the consumer needs with which the democracies concern themselves. Soviet-regimented production for war can rapidly bring the Kremlin to the point where it will feel prepared to transform the cold war into an atomic war. In the meanwhile, the democracies are divided amongst themselves. They are divided on policy toward China and Germany. They are divided on questions of international trade which involve tariffs and convertibility of currencies.

There is one world today, although not the world of which Wendell Willkie dreamed. The only world is the Communist world. Amongst the democracies, each nation behaves as though it were a world unto itself, and the old American motto "United we stand—divided we fall," is still good. Democratic unity prior to 1914 could have prevented World Wars I and II. Democratic unity now can prevent World War III.

Secondly, bear in mind that the Kremlin may plan to win the world in either of two ways: (1) by a crash of the democratic economy induced by unbearable defense costs; (2) by military means, if necessary. We must take measures to forestall either eventuality. If we are to prevent Russian military action, we must be able to deliver a counterblow so devastating

as to preclude any attack upon us. We must solve the dilemma of securing much more impressive power at little extra cost in men, money, and material.

In a report made by Secretary of Defense Johnson in the present year, he says: "It is obvious, however, that we cannot continue indefinitely on the current scale our expenditures for atomic bombs, ships, planes, guns, and tanks, and for the forces to man them, without depressing our standards of living by thus diverting funds we should necessarily spend for food, clothing, shelter, health, welfare, and education."

That was written before an expenditure of unascertained billions for a hydrogen bomb was suggested. Through our defense commitments under the Atlantic Pact, through our economic commitments under the Marshall plan, and through our own defense commitments, nearly half of our Federal taxes are consumed. The economic burden is greater than the American people can continue to bear. And all this applies with greater force to England, to France, to Benelux.

If we lay down the burden, Stalin will take over Europe. If we carry it until our resources are drained to the point of economic crash, Stalin will have won the global cold war. Other witnesses will elaborate these matters.

Third, there is a way out. That is the way of partnership and unity, the way of sharing responsibility for the defense of freedom, the way of Atlantic Union. A federal union of Atlantic democracies, with a common foreign poicy, a common currency, a common defense force, with free movement of goods and services, is the surest, cheapest, strongest way to stop war, to stop communism, to create prosperity, to extend freedom. Such a federation would be colossally powerful in arms, in industry, in raw materials, in financial and moral power.

Such a union, by uniting the defense forces of its members, would create a stronger defense at less cost. Combining the armed forces of all would permit some disarmament by each. At the same time, the defense of the democracies would be so strong that no aggressor would dare attack. Such a union would be a positive factor. It would embody the psychological power and drive that free men need. Freedom's gain by it would put in shadow communism's gain in China. It is our best defense and preventive of war.

I realize that, desirable as I believe it, Atlantic Union cannot be achieved overnight. We thank God that democracy does not move with the speed of dictatorship. But Atlantic Union can be explored—this year. It has never been officially explored. The time is overdue. Despite all disasters since 1914, we haven't yet, as a people, begun even to explore this solution. Senate Concurrent Resolution 57 will permit such exploration now. The decisions of the convention will have to be referred for ratification to the peoples the delegates represent. This will require still more time. And we do not know how much time we have. Unless we begin now to make exploration possible, the economy of western Europe may have collapsed or the hydrogen bomb may have wiped out time.

"TO SAVE HUMANITY FROM THE DEEP ABYSS"

(Excerpts from an article by John Foster Dulles in The New York Times Magazine for July 30, 1950, pages 5, 34-35.)

Within the last year the Soviet Union has completed tanks and combat planes in vast numbers, exceeding by many times the total of military planes and tanks available to the free world. It is not usual for a nation, particularly one of relative poverty, to turn its steel and aluminum into actual military equipment which is subject to rapid depreciation and obsolescence unless it thinks that the military equipment may be needed for use before it depreciates or become obsolete.

We see now at least part of that use, as Soviet-manufactured tanks and planes carry death to the defenders of the Korean Republic. Also we know that the Soviet-manufactured armor which penetrates into South Korea taps only slightly the vast armament reservoir that has been created in the center of the Eurasian land mass.

Since international communism may not be deterred by moral principles backed by *potential* might, we must back those principles with military strength-in-being, and do so quickly. That is our national determination, voiced by President Truman, on July 19, 1950, in his messages to the people and the Congress. The grave question is whether we shall be able to create this strength in time to change what may be the war calculations of international communism.

It was inevitable that a critical moment would come when international communism felt that it had exhausted most of the possibilities of gain through methods of indirect aggression. It had, through these methods, won and consolidated great victories in central and southeastern Europe and in Asia. However, the free world was visibly checking the possibilities of further big gains by indirect aggression.

The European Recovery Plan, the North Atlantic Pact, the Military Aid Program and the Schuman steel pool proposal had led to a revival of hope and vigor in Western Europe. Communist strength there has been sharply declining. In Asia, the United States had turned from what had seemed to be a policy of drift and we were in the process of developing positive policies which would give leadership and hope to the Asiatic forces opposed to communism. Thus, the free world was ending the possibilities of indirect aggression.

While this was going on, the Soviet Union was creating a vast supply of tanks and planes to equip both the armies of the Soviet Union and also the Soviet-trained and officered armies of the satellite states. Now, the Communist regime of North Korea has struck with armed might.

The combination of these developments may mark a new phase of Bolshevik Communist aggression. It may invalidate the assumption that the Soviet Union would not risk general war for several years yet to come—the time presumably required for it to develop a large stockpile of atomic weapons. It surely invalidates the assumption that we can continue still for

a time to live luxuriously, without converting our economic potential into military reality.

The present consequence of that past assumption is that the free world is only meagerly equipped to check the offensive power of Communist satellite armies, quite apart from the armies of the Soviet Union itself. The situation is precarious. It need not yet be assumed that general war is inevitable, but any further aggression would seriously strain the whole fabric of peace.

We have said that the leaders of Soviet communism seem now willing to run greatly increased risks of war. That, however, does not necessarily mean that they *want* general war or that they are irrevocably committed to provide it. The free world, perhaps, may still bring the Soviet leaders to avoid that reckless course. The best chance is for the free members of the United Nations to present a solid, cohesive unity and to demonstrate that they have both the resolution to defend the high principles of the Charter and also the willingness to accept sacrifice and discipline so that their resolution may be potent unto the end.

The United States, which produces five times as much steel as the Soviet Union, has been using for military purposes less than half as much steel as does the Soviet Union. If we had used, for military purposes, twice as much as does the Soviet Union, our people would still have had for their enjoyment four times as much steel as is available to the Russian people. The picture is similar for aluminum, oil and other key commodities.

Communist leaders may understandably have doubted our devotion to the principles we verbally espouse when we seemed so negligent of the means to defend them.

The time for sacrifice and discipline is here. In fact it has been here for long, but it took the attack on Korea to open our eyes. Many now will risk their lives before the hard battle of Korea is won. Most of us will have to work longer hours and with more intensity. We shall all have to give up some material enjoyments and be more frugal in our living. There will be fewer automobiles, television sets and gadgets to buy and there will be bigger tax bills to pay.

Despite all that, I predict that we shall not, as a nation, be less happy. There is never great happiness in leading a purposeless life, whether in poverty or riches. We have, as a nation, been blessed with fabulous material prosperity; but we have too much been purposeless and without sense of dedication or of mission.

Now we are consciously enlisted in a great cause. We have enlisted voluntarily. We do not work and sacrifice as slaves to any master save truth and righteousness. Our purpose is to join our strength with that of the other free members of the United Nations to preserve such human liberty as remains in the world and to extend liberty by gradually releasing the captive peoples.

We are engaged in the kind of crusade that Lincoln foresaw when he said, of our Declaration of Independence, that it promised "liberty not

alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time."

We are determined to wage our cause peacefully so far as that is humanly possible because we know that the destruction and cruelties of war themselves breed despotism and intolerance. The war in Korea was not of our making and we can still be hopeful that it can be confined and extinguished so as to prevent a general war.

If that awful cataclysm impends, it is primarily because the Bolshevik Communist leaders have gravely miscalculated the resolution and the willingness to sacrifice of the free people. It is our task to correct that miscalculation before the consequences are irreparable. That is a matter of deeds, not words alone.

If the free peoples act quickly, largely and unitedly to translate their freedom into strength of moral purpose and material might, they may yet save humanity from the deep abyss. Let that be our dedication.

SECRETARY ACHESON AT U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(Excerpts from the address of Secretary of State Dean Acheson before the General Assembly of the United Nations at Flushing Meadow, September 20, 1950.)

One of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations, as expressed in Article 1 of the Charter, is that it shall ". . . take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace. . . ."

The action of the United Nations to put down the aggression which began on June 25 against the Republic of Korea was exactly the effective collective measure which was required. It marked a turning point in history, for it showed the way to an enforceable rule of law among nations.

The world waits to see whether we can build on the start we have made. The United Nations must move forward energetically to develop a more adequate system of collective security. If it does not move forward it will move back.

Article 24 of the Charter gives the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace. This is the way it should be. But if the Security Council is not able to act because of the obstructive tactics of a permanent member, the Charter does not leave the United Nations impotent. The obligation of all members to take action to maintain or restore the peace does not disappear because of a veto. The Charter, in Articles 10, 11 and 14, also vests in the General Assembly authority and responsibility for matters affecting international peace. The General Assembly can and should organize itself to discharge its responsibility promptly and decisively if the Security Council is prevented from acting.

To this end, the United States delegation is placing before the Assembly

a number of recommendations designed to increase the effectiveness of United Nations action against aggression.

This program will include the following proposals:

First, a provision for the calling of an emergency session of the General Assembly upon twenty-four hours notice if the Security Council is prevented from acting upon a breach of the peace or an act of aggression.

Second, the establishment by the General Assembly of a security patrol, a peace patrol, to provide immediate and independent observation and reporting from any area in which international conflict threatens, upon the invitation or with the consent of the state visited.

Third, a plan under which each member nation would designate within its national armed forces a United Nations unit or units, to be specially trained and equipped and continuously maintained in readiness for prompt service on behalf of the United Nations. To assist in the organization, training and equipping of such units, we will suggest that a United Nations military adviser be appointed. Until the forces provided for under Article 43 are made available to the United Nations the availability of these national units will be an important step toward the development of a worldwide security system.

The fourth proposal, the establishment by the General Assembly of a committee to study and report on means which the United Nations might use through collective action—including the use of armed force—to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter.

I shall request that these proposals be added as an item to the agenda. It is the hope of our delegation that the Assembly will act on these and other suggestions which may be offered for the strengthening of our collective security system.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN REPORTS TO THE NATION

(Excerpts from President Harry S. Truman's "Report to the Nation", made by radio on September 1, 1950.)

As we move forward to arm ourselves more quickly in the days ahead, and as we strive with the United Nations for victory in Korea, we must keep clearly in mind what we believe in and what we are trying to do. We also want the rest of the world to understand clearly our aims and our hopes.

First: We believe in the United Nations. When we ratified its Charter, we pledged ourselves to seek peace and security through this world organization. We kept our word when we went to the support of the United Nations in Korea two months ago. We shall never go back on that pledge.

Second: We believe the Koreans have a right to be free, independent, and united—as they want to be. Under the direction and guidance of the United Nations, we, with others, will do our part to help them enjoy that right. The United States has no other aim in Korea.

Third: We do not want the fighting in Korea to expand into a general

war. It will not spread unless Communist imperialism draws other armies and governments into the fight of the aggressors against the United Nations.

Fourth: We hope in particular that the people of China will not be misled or forced into fighting against the United Nations and against the American people, who have always been and still are their friends. Only the Communist imperialism, which has already started to dismember China, could gain from China's involvement in war.

Fifth: We do not want Formosa or any part of Asia for ourselves. The future of Formosa, like that of any other territory in dispute, should be settled peacefully. We believe that it should be settled by international action, and not by the decision of the United States or of any other state alone. The mission of the Seventh Fleet is to keep Formosa out of the conflict. Our purpose is peace, not conquest.

Sixth: We believe in freedom for all the nations of the Far East. That is one of the reasons why we are fighting under the United Nations for the freedom of Korea. We helped the Philippines become independent and we have supported the national aspirations to independence of other Asian countries. Russia has never voluntarily given up any territory it has acquired in the Far East; it has never given independence to any people who have fallen under its control. We not only want freedom for the peoples of Asia, but we also want to help them secure for themselves better health, more food, better clothes and homes, and the chance to live their own lives in peace. The things we want for the people of Asia are the same things we want for the people of the rest of the world.

Seventh: We do not believe in aggressive or preventive war. Such war is the weapon of dictators, not of free democratic countries like the United States. We are arming only for defense against aggression. Even though Communist imperialism does not believe in peace, it can be discouraged from new aggression if we and other free peoples are strong, determined, and united.

Eighth: We want peace and we shall achieve it. Our men are fighting for peace today in Korea. We are working for peace constantly in the United Nations and in all the capitals of the world. Our workers, our farmers, our business men, all of our vast resources, are helping now to create the strength which will make peace secure.

We want peace not only for its own sake but because we want all the peoples of the world, including ourselves, to be free to devote their full energies to making their lives richer and happier. We shall give what help we can to make this universal human wish come true.

We invite all the nations of the world, without exception, to join with us in this great work.

The events in Korea have shown us again all the misery and horrors of war. The North Koreans have learned that the penalties of armed conflict fall as heavily on those who act as tools for the Communist dictatorship as they do on its victims. There will be no profit for any people who follow the Communist dictatorship down its dark and bloody path.

The task which has fallen upon our beloved country is a great one. In carrying it out, we ask God to purge us of all selfishness and meanness, and to give us strength and courage for the days ahead.

U. N. MAKES HISTORY

(An editorial in The Charlotte Observer for July 10, 1950.)

Historic action of vital importance to the United States and the world and of far-reaching effect and implications was taken Friday by the Security Council when it voted for appointment of General Douglas MacArthur as the supreme commander of United Nations forces in Korea, authorized him to fly the blue and white U. N. flag, and called upon the nations which are supplying forces in the battle against North Korea to put them under a unified command.

It all means that for the first time in history such an international peace organization as the United Nations or the old League of Nations has assumed authority and responsibility for war against an aggressor nation or bloc. Henceforth the conflict in Korea is one between the United Nations on the one hand and Soviet-sponsored North Korea on the other.

Of course that does not relieve the United States of its responsibility in the Korean conflict, but it does bring the United Nations physically and officially into the undeclared war as the major party on the side of South Korea and the United States in their battle against Communist armed aggressors.

No longer can Russia be consistent in charging the United States with aggression in Korea without also accusing the United Nations of armed aggression.

It is noteworthy that the vote of the Security Council in favor of making General MacArthur the supreme commander of United Nations forces was 7 to 0, with Egypt, India and Tito's Yugoslavia abstaining.

It is highly significant also that at least 48 of the 59 governments that are members of the United Nations responded favorably to its call for support of the United States and South Korea in the struggle against the North Korean invasion forces. Many of them, including Britain and Canada, have pledged military forces to the conflict on the side of the United States and South Korea.

The whole world, including Russia and its puppets and satellites, must have been impressed by the action and the virility of the United Nations and by the fact that 81 per cent of its members have arrayed themselves on the side of South Korea and the United States against Soviet-supported Communist armed aggression. The United Nations is making world history of an unprecedented kind. Its prestige has been given a mighty boost.

Of course, Russian authorities and propagandists will continue to shout that the action of the Security Council was "illegal," but will they dare say that the United Nations has committed an act of aggression?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For material concerning the United Nations, the principal or teacher in charge should write the Chief, Educational Liaison Office, Department of Public Information, United Nations, Lake Success, N. Y.

The Department of State will no doubt be able to furnish some material of value to those who are making a study of the Program topic. The principal or teacher in charge should write for all material available to the Division of Public Liaison, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

The July, 1950, number of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science is devoted to the subject: "Formulating a Point Four Program." Edited by Dr. Ernest Minor Patterson, the number carries eighteen articles. Price, $2.00. Address the Academy at 3817 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

The October, 1946, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin treats the subject: "Is World Government the Path to Peace?" The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program of 1946-47, is 15 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The October, 1947, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "How Can the United Nations Be Strengthened?" The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program of 1947-48, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The November, 1948, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "What is the Responsibility of the United States in World Affairs?" The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program of 1948-49, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The November, 1949, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "Building World Peace in the Atomic Age: What are the Responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations and in the Atlantic Pact?" The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program of 1949-50, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The American Association for the United Nations may be able to furnish material dealing with the topic under discussion. The principal or teacher in charge should write this Association at 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

The United World Federalists may be able to furnish material dealing with the topic. The principal or teacher in charge should write this organization at 7 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace may be able to furnish

some general background information dealing with the topic. Address the Endowment at 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Senators and Congressmen may be able to furnish from Congressional sources some material bearing on the topic under discussion.

BOOKS

Academy of Political Science—"United States and the Atlantic Community"—Academy of Political and Social Science, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1949. Price, $2.50.

Sigrid Arne—"United Nations Primer"—Farrar & Rinehart, New York, N. Y. 1945. Price, $1.25.

Hanson Baldwin—"The Price of Power"—Harper & Bros., New York, N. Y. (For the Council on Foreign Relations). 1948. Price $3.75.

John C. Campbell—"The United States in World Affairs"—Harper & Bros., New York, N. Y. 1947. Price, $5.00.

Vera M. Dean—"The Four Cornerstones of Peace"—Whittlesey House, New York, N. Y. 1946. Price, $2.50.

A. W. Dulles—"United Nations Handbook"—Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y. 1947. Price, $2.00.

J. F. Dulles—"War or Peace"—Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y. 1950. Price, $1.50.

W. R. Espy—"Bold New Program"—Harper & Bros., New York, N. Y. 1950. Price, $3.00.

Cord Meyer, Jr.—"Peace or Anarchy"—Little, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass. 1947. Price, $2.50.

V. Nash—"World Must Be Governed"—Harper & Bros., New York, N. Y. 1949. Price, $2.50.

New York University Press—"Annual Review of United Nations Affairs, 1949"—New York University Press, New York, N. Y. 1950. Price, $5.00.

Emery Reves—"The Anatomy of Peace"—Harper & Bros., New York, N. Y. 1945. Price, $2.00.

Clarence K. Streit—"Union Now"—Federal Union, Inc., 700 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 1949. Price, $1.00, paper edition; $3.00, cloth bound.

Harris Wofford, Jr.—"It's Up to Us"—United World Federalists, New York, N. Y. 1946. Price, $2.00.

PERIODICALS

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 268, pages 27-35, March, 1950. "Point Four in United States Foreign Policy." S. P. Hayes, Jr.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 270, pages 8-15, July, 1950. "Point Four, Dollar Gap, and Full Employment." John H. G. Pierson.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 270, pages 22-34, July, 1950. "A New Look at the Economic Challenge." James P. Warburg.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 270, pages 95-101, July, 1950. "Practical Problems of Point Four." Willard L. Thorp.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 270, pages 102-108, July, 1950. "Some Prerequisites for Success of the Point Four Program." Lauchlin Currie.

Atlantic Monthly, volume 185, pages 25-30, April, 1950. "Break-up of the Two-power World." W. Lippmann.

Department of State Bulletin, volume 21, pages 668-669, October 31, 1949. "Problems in American Foreign Policy." D. G. Acheson.

Department of State Bulletin, volume 22, pages 329-330, February 27, 1950. "Spiritual Base of American Foreign Policy." J. E. Peurifoy.

Department of State Bulletin, volume 22, pages 526-532, April 3, 1950. "Universal, Regional and Bilateral Patterns of International Organization." D. Rusk.

Department of State Bulletin, volume 22, pages 931-936, June 12, 1950. "North Atlantic Community." D. G. Acheson.

Foreign Affairs, volume 28, pages 386-397, April, 1950. "Strategy for Two Atomic Worlds." Hanson W. Baldwin.

Foreign Affairs, volume 28, pages 441-450, April, 1950. "European Union: False Hopes and Realities." Halvard M. Lange.

Foreign Affairs, volume 28, pages 463-476, April, 1950. "The Marshall Plan Halfway." John H. Williams.

Foreign Policy Bulletin, volume 29, pages 2-3, April 7, 1950. "Long View Needed in Assessing Cold War." V. M. Dean.

Foreign Policy Reports, volume 25, pages 102-111, September 15, 1949. "Proposals for Strengthening the United Nations." Clyde Eagleton.

Foreign Policy Reports, volume 25, pages 178-191, December 15, 1949. "Should the U. S. Re-examine Its Foreign Policy?" V. M. Dean.

Foreign Policy Reports, volume 25, pages 194-203, January 1, 1950 "The United States and World Trade." Harold H. Hutcheson.

Foreign Policy Reports, volume 26, pages 54-63, June 1, 1950. "Wards of the U. N.: Trust and Dependent Areas." Fred W. Riggs.

Life, volume 28, pages 120-122, April 24, 1950. "How to Take the Offensive for Peace." J. F. Dulles

Life, volume 28, page 26, June 5, 1950. "Next Three Years."

Nation, volume 170, pages 396-400, April 29, 1950. "From Two Worlds to One." R. Swing.

Nation, volume 170, pages 498-499, May 20, 1950. "Role of the U. N." C. M. Eichelberger.

Nation, volume 170, pages 504-506, May 20, 1950. "Bridge Must Be Built." A. Eban.

Scholastic, volume 55, pages 6-7, October 19, 1949. "America's New Role in World Affairs."

Scholastic, volume 56, page 14, March 15, 1950. "America's World Responsibility." P. G. Hoffman.

Scholastic, volume 56, page 11, May 10, 1950. "Unsolved Problems of Peace: Summary of Addresses by Secretary Acheson."

The Charlotte Observer for July 10, 1950. "U. N. Makes History." Editorial.

The New York Times for June 25, 1950. "Finis to Neutrality." Editorial.

The New York Times Magazine for July 30, 1950, pages 5, 34-35. "To Save Humanity From the Deep Abyss." John Foster Dulles.

The New York Times Magazine for August 6, 1950, pages 12, 26-27. "What the Atom Age Has Done to Us." Michael Amrine.

United Nations Bulletin, volume 8, pages 286-288, April 1, 1950. "What the World Needs is a 20-Year Program to Win Peace through the United Nations."

United Nations Bulletin, volume 8, pages 455-457, June 1, 1950. "United Nations, the One Hope for Peaceful Cooperation."

United Nations World, volume 4, page 64, March, 1950. "H-Hour: World's Deepest Moral and Physical Crisis." L. Dolivet.

U. S. News and World Report, volume 28, pages 56-63, March 24, 1950. "World Policies of the U. S.: United States Policy toward Asia; Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union." D. G. Acheson.

U. S. News and World Report, volume 28, page 56, June 23, 1950. "Liberation, not Appeasement." D. Lawrence.

FILMS ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS

The Bureau of Visual Education of the University of North Carolina Extension Division will be able to supply a number of films dealing with the United Nations or related topics to schools, clubs, or other organizations. For rental rates, address the Bureau of Visual Education, Swain Hall, Chapel Hill, N. C. A partial list of the films is given below:

"Watchtower Over Tomorrow," running time 15 minutes.

"A U. S. Community and Its Citizens," running time 20 minutes.

"On Mediterranean Shores (Greece)," running time 20 minutes.

"Airplane Changes the World Map," running time 11 minutes.

"The House I Live in," running time 10 minutes.

"The Peacebuilders," running time 10 minutes.

"The Middle East (Israel)," running time 20 minutes.

"Story of Money," running time 19 minutes.

"The Bridge," running time 30 minutes.

"Factories, Mines, and Waterways (Western Europe)," running time 20 minutes.

"The Po River Valley (Italy)," running time 20 minutes.

"Land Behind the Dikes (Holland)," running time 20 minutes.

"Highlands of the Andes (Peru)," running time 20 minutes.

"Trade and Industry (Great Britain)," running time 20 minutes.

"India," running time 12 minutes.

"Mexico Builds a Democracy," running time 20 minutes.

"Atomic Energy," running time 10 minutes—sound.

"Atomic Power," running time 10 minutes—sound.

"Picturesque Poland," running time 10 minutes—sound—color.

"Brotherhood of Man," running time 10 minutes—sound—color.

"Japan, Island Nation," running time 20 minutes—sound.

NORTH CAROLINA INFORMATION CENTER FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

The University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, operates an Information Center for the United Nations. The services of the Center at Chapel Hill include: the distribution of literature about the United Nations and its eleven specialized agencies (i. e., UNESCO, FAO, WHO, etc.); a speakers' bureau; the rental of motion pictures, film strips, and other audio-visual education materials; library service; and other activities.

Requests for information should be addressed to R. M. Grumman, Director, University Extension Division, Box 1050, Chapel Hill, N. C.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XXX January, 1951 NO. 3

CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE BUREAU OF CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

1951-1952

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Vol. XXIV, No. 4.	*Lectures in the Humanities* (First Series). By Raymond Adams, Hardin Craig and B. L. Ullman. Price 50c.
Vol. XXVI, No. 1.	*University Extension in Action.* By Russell M. Grumman. Price $1.00.
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Vol. XXVIII, No. 4.	*A Report of North Carolina College Centers* (1946-48.) Price 50c.
Vol. XXIX, No. 2.	*Building World Peace in the Atomic Age: What are the Responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations and in the Atlantic Pact?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
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Vol. XXX, No. 1.	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Sixth Series. Price 50c.
Vol. XXX, No. 2.	*How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.

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(For courses offered at State College, Raleigh, N. C., see pp. 41-44.)

Correspondence Instruction

This catalogue explains in detail the correspondence work offered at Chapel Hill by the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina. The courses offered at the State College of Agriculture and Engineering in Raleigh are listed on pages 41-44. Full information regarding these may be secured by writing to that institution.

The courses listed herein may be pursued by anyone who is prepared to study them with profit. Those who expect to secure credit towards a degree must, of course, satisfy the entrance and other requirements. However, those who do not desire or expect such credit are permitted to register for any course in which they have an interest. Non-credit students are given the same careful instruction as those who are candidates for a degree.

General Information

Correspondence study is simply a method of learning through the directed study of textbooks and supplementary material, writing the answers to the questions, and developing lines of thought contained in each assignment. Each assignment includes: (a) full directions for study, including references to textbooks by chapter and page; (b) suggestions and helps of the instructor; (c) questions to develop an understanding of the work done. When a student has registered for a course three assignments are usually sent him. He does the work outlined in the first assignment and sends his paper to the Extension Division, and then begins work on the second assignment. At the University each paper is gone over by the instructor, who carefully corrects and grades it and places on it constructive criticism and helpful suggestions for further study. Upon receipt of completed assignments, additional ones will be sent the student. While it is very desirable that the student send in work regularly, at least one assignment each week, he has the privilege of sending it in as he is able to complete it, *provided he does not submit more than four assignments a week in each course.*

Credit

Unless otherwise noted, all courses offered count toward the A.B. degree at this institution. Some courses are credited toward S.B. degrees. No courses offered count toward the master's degree.

To work out a systematic plan for taking correspondence instruction toward the A.B. degree, study carefully the *Requirements for Bachelors' Degrees* found on pages 18-20.

The State Department of Public Instruction at Raleigh will, in accordance with their regulations, credit all courses listed in this catalogue (except those listed as non-credit courses) toward state teachers' certificates. See pages 13-14 regarding amount of credit allowed and distribution.

For credit toward a degree at this branch of the University, not more than the equivalent of one and one-half years of residence work, 45 semester hours or 67½ quarter hours, may be earned by extension. *Of this amount only* 30 *semester hours or* 45 *quarter hours may be taken by correspondence.* One-third of the total amount, 15 semester hours or 22½ quarter hours, is the maximum of correspondence work that may be completed in any twelve-month period. It is expected that the last year's work will be taken in residence. Special cases will be handled individually.

Entrance Requirements

If degree credit is desired at this branch of the University an applicant for correspondence work must meet the University entrance requirements of at least fifteen acceptable units from an accredited high school. The high school record must be transferred to the University on a blank that will be furnished for the purpose. An applicant for advanced standing may be ranked as a sophomore, junior, or senior when credit for work taken at other colleges has been properly transferred to the University and accepted by the examining committee.

If certification credit only is desired, correspondence courses may be taken by any teacher who holds a standard state certificate.

Nature of Courses

Each correspondence course has been developed by a member of the faculty so that it parallels a course given in residence in the same subject and covers an equal amount of work for which equal credit is given. Although it may vary, a correspondence course which gives two semester hours' or three quarter hours' credit has about sixteen assignments and one which gives three and one-third semester hours' or five quarter hours' credit has about twenty-seven assignments. Each assignment covers approximately two days of residence work. On such assignments a student is expected to put approximately six hours, or else sufficient time to do the work in the best possible manner.

Fees and Refunds

Effective through June 30, 1951:
In addition to one registration fee of $2.00 which shall entitle a student to administrative and office service for one year, the course fees are:

For residents of North Carolina:

$10.00 for a course of two semester hours or three quarter hours.
$16.50 for a course of three and one-third semester hours or five quarter hours.

For non-residents of North Carolina:

$11.50 for a course of two semester hours or three quarter hours.
$19.00 for a course of three and one-third semester hours or five quarter hours.

Effective July 1, 1951:
In addition to one registration fee of $2.00 which shall entitle a student to administrative and office service for one year, the course fees will be:

For residents of North Carolina:

$11.00 for a course of two semester hours or three quarter hours.
$18.00 for a course of three and one-third semester hours or five quarter hours.

For non-residents of North Carolina:

$12.50 for a course of two semester hours or three quarter hours.
$21.00 for a course of three and one-third semester hours or five quarter hours.

For full information about fees for members of the armed forces interested in enrolling through the United States Armed Forces Institute, see pp. 20-21. (There is a separate bulletin of courses available through the Institute.) See page 21 also for information about the Veterans Administration contract.

No course fee or parts of such can be refunded after a course is once begun. In the event that no work has been done during the first three months and application is made within that time, a portion of the fee will be refunded, provided a good cause is given for discontinuing. A course fee holds good for one year and five weeks only. If it is desired to continue a course not completed within that time, a renewal fee of two dollars ($2.00) for a two semester hour or three quarter hour course and three dollars ($3.00) for each three and one-third semester hour or five quarter hour course will be required in order to extend the time for six months.

Books and Supplies

Textbooks are purchased by the students themselves, usually through the Extension Division. When a student has finished a course the Division will purchase books that are in good condition if the student desires to sell them, provided the course has not been discontinued or revised and the Division is not sufficiently stocked.

Upon application, reference books for supplementary reading may be borrowed from the University Library Extension Department at a slight expense to the student for postage and packing. At the time the first request is filled, the student is asked to send to the Extension Library $1.00 to cover the charge for that package and to apply toward the charge for future packages. Any unused portion of the deposit will be refunded at the end of the course. In some instances supplementary texts may be rented from the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction.

Lightweight paper suitable for typewriter or pen may be purchased from the Bureau. This is recommended in order to save postage.

Rules Governing Correspondence Work

1. Not more than two enrollments may be had at one time, and it is advisable to complete one course before registering for another.

2. Students may enroll for correspondence work at any time during the year.

3. Work taken by correspondence must be completed within one year and five weeks from the date of registration or a renewal fee will be required.

4. Those who wish credit must take a final examination on completion of all assignments in a course. This may be taken either at the University or in the student's community under conditions approved by the University. It should be taken no later than one month after the last assignment has been returned corrected. The examination must be passed if credit is to be allowed.

5. It is desirable that students send in at least one assignment a week. *Only four assignments per week are accepted in a course.*

6. A subject previously taken in any institution for which either degree or certification credit has already been given cannot be taken for credit by correspondence, unless approval has been obtained from the institution where credit is desired.

7. For credit toward a degree at this branch of the University, not more than the equivalent of one and one-half years of residence work, which is 45 semester hours or 67½ quarter hours, may be earned by extension. *Only* 30 *semester hours or* 45 *quarter hours may be taken by correspondence.* One-third of the total amount, 15 semester hours or 22½ quarter hours, is the maximum of correspondence work that may be completed in any twelve-month period. It is expected that the last year's work will be taken in residence.

8. Persons who are not *bona fide* residents of Chapel Hill must secure the approval of University authorities to remain in town and take correspondence courses.

9. When a student has completed a correspondence course all assignments must be returned to the Extension Division before a final grade or credit will be given.

10. It is expected that students will not take correspondence work while attending any institution without securing the approval of the dean or adviser of that institution.

Standards

The Bureau emphasizes the importance of the individual guidance of students by instructors. This involves the evaluation of students' work and the giving of helpful suggestions according to individual needs.

All students will be expected to submit their assignments in good form, grammatical and otherwise, acceptable to the instructor and in line with the requirements of the University. If an instructor in any department

finds that the English composition of a student is below the standard, the symbol *cc* (composition condition) may accompany the final grade, as for instance Bcc, Ccc, or Dcc. This will indicate that, although the instructor has accepted as satisfactory the student's knowledge of the subject matter of the course, the penmanship, punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, or organization of the written work is not up to the University standard. A student receiving such a grade may remove the condition by doing work in residence assigned by the English Department or by completing successfully either of the correspondence courses English c1x or English c51.

The Honor System

Correspondence courses, like residence courses, are on the honor basis. The student body of the University has through a century of tradition developed an honor spirit and an honor system. A student who plagiarizes, copies, cheats, or in any way does dishonest work is not only denied credit for the course but is also dismissed from the University by his fellow students. Work must be honest above all other qualities. Each correspondence student is on his honor to do only honest work.

To make certain that there is no semblance of dishonor it should be an unfailing habit *never* to use the textbook or any other materials or aids when writing answers to questions.

No credit will be given for a course in case the student has been false to the pledge of honor. No refund will be made in such a case.

Transferring Credit

A record of the extension work completed towards a degree will be transferred to another institution when this request is made by the student.

The University cannot determine the policy of other institutions in regard to accepting credit for work completed by extension elsewhere. There are very few standard colleges or universities at this time, however, that do not accept credit for work completed through extension instruction in other standard colleges or universities. There is usually interchange of credits between the various institutions which are members of the National University Extension Association.

The Extension Division will transfer credit to State Departments of Education to be applied toward teachers' certificates when requested to do so. The State Department in North Carolina has requested the Division to transfer credit at only two stated times during the year—June 1st and September 1st. Unless the work is completed before September 1st, credit will not be allowed by the State Department as of the June preceding but will be carried forward to the June next succeeding.

Special Notices to Teachers in North Carolina

Teachers who need *professional courses* must be sure to choose them in their own professional field. For instance, a primary teacher should not take a course in high school methods.

For renewing a certificate not based on a graduate degree six semester hours' work is required and may be taken by correspondence and/or extension class. Any courses which do not duplicate courses previously taken will be suitable.

The following regulations have been adopted by the State Department of Public Instruction:

1. No teacher in service shall be given credit for more than twenty semester hours during any one year between September 1st of that year and August 31st of the following year, a teacher in service being defined as one who teaches six or more months during the period. This, it must be understood, is the maximum total credit from all sources.

2. No teacher in service shall be given credit for more than twelve semester hours of extension class teaching or correspondence study instruction in any year between September 1st of that year and August 31st of the following year, with not more than eight semester hours permitted between September 1st and June 1st following.

3. Not more than forty per cent of the credit necessary to raise a certificate from one class to another may be earned through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction.

4. The original professional credit necessary for an administrative or supervisory certificate may not be secured through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction. The requirements for Graduate Secondary and Elementary Certificates, issued on the basis of a master's degree, may not be met by correspondence study.

5. Not more than sixteen semester hours' extension credit may be earned with the same instructor.

For High School Teachers' Certificates

The requirements for A Certificates, as outlined by the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, are as follows:

The minimum scholastic training represents graduation from a standard four-year college. The subject, or subjects for which certification is granted appear on the face of the certificate. It is desirable that one be qualified to teach two or more subjects.

This summary of requirements is expressed in terms of professional requirements and academic requirements.

I. Professional Requirement	18 S.H.
a. The Pupil	6
b. The School	6
c. Teaching and Practicum	6*

(Correspondence courses available in these areas are indicated under the Department of Education.)

* Must include at least 45 clock hours of actual teaching.

II. Academic requirements vary with the subject for which certification is granted. In terms of semester hours, the minimum subject matter credit for the teaching of each of the various subjects is as follows:

1. *Art* ..... 30 S.H.
   Design (industrial, interior, costume) ..... 9 S.H.
   Drawing and Painting 9 S.H.
   Ceramics ..... 3-6 S.H.
   Art History ..... 6 S.H.

2. *Bible and Religion* ..... 21 S.H.
   Old Testament ..... 6 S.H.
   New Testament ..... 6 S.H.
   Electives ..... 9 S.H.

3. *Commerce* ..... 36 S.H.
   Economics and Retailing ..... 12-15 S.H.
   Accounting and Management (including Office Management) ..... 12-15 S.H.
   Office Skills (shorthand, and transcription, and typing) ..... 12 S.H.
   Minimum office experience
   Certification may be granted in the individual areas as follows:
   Typewriting ..... 4 S.H.
   Stenography ..... 11-13 S.H.
   Stenography, including transcription ..... 9 S.H.
   Typing ..... 2-4 S.H.
   Bookkeeping ..... 15 S.H.
   Accounting and Management
   Basic Business ..... 24 S.H.
   Economics ..... 12 S.H.
   Management and Accounting ..... 12 S.H.

4. *English* ..... 30 S.H.
   Required:
   Shakespeare ..... 3 S.H.
   American Literature ... 3 S.H.
   Advanced Grammar and Composition ..... 3 S.H.
   Recommended from—
   Speech ..... 3 S.H.
   English or American Literature ..... 6 S.H.
   Teaching of Reading 3 S.H.
   Young Peoples Literature ..... 3 S.H.

5. *French* ..... 24-30 S.H.
   24 semester hours based upon two or more high school units; otherwise 30 semester hours
   Spoken Language ..... 6 S.H.
   Quantitative requirements for teaching other modern foreign languages same as for French.

6. *Home Economics* ..... 51 S.H.
   a. Chemistry ..... 6 S.H.
   b. Biology ..... 6 S.H.
   c. Physics ..... 2 S.H.
   d. Art ..... 3 S.H.
   e. Foods ..... 8 S.H.
   f. Clothing ..... 8 S.H.
   g. Management ..... 6 S.H.
   Home Management Residence required (six weeks recommended as a minimum). Other courses may include buying, furnishing and housing.
   h. Family ..... 6 S.H.
   Child Development (required)
   Family Relationships (required)
   Other courses may include Health, Nursing and Hygiene.
   i. Social Science ..... 6 S.H.

7. *Industrial Arts* ..... 30 S.H.
   a. Drawing and Design 6 S.H.
   b. Woodwork (including bench work, machine work, carpentry, cabinet making) ..... 6 S.H.
   c. General Metal Work (including cold metal, sheet metal, forging, foundry, machine shop, art metal, welding) ..... 6 S.H.
   d. Electricity (including general principles, house wiring, common appliances, and radio) ..... 6 S.H.
   e. Electives from a, b, c, d, or from such other courses as graphic arts (printing, silk screen photography), ceramics, automotives, aeronautics, crafts (jewelry, leather) ..... 6 S.H.

8. *Latin* ..... 24. S.H.
Based on two units of High School Latin, to be reduced six semester hours for each additional unit of entrance credit.

9. *Library Science* ..... 18 S.H.
This shall include:
Administration and Organization of the School Library ..... 3 S.H.
Reference Books and their use ..... 3 S.H.
Book Selection for Children ..... 2 S.H.
Book Selection for Young People ..... 2 S.H.
Simplified Classification and Cataloging ..... 3 S.H.

10. *Mathematics* ..... 21 S.H.
Required:
College Algebra ..... 3 S.H.
Trigonometry ..... 3 S.H.
Analytic Geometry ..... 3 S.H.
Recommended from—
Differential and Intergal Calculus ..... 6 S.H.
History of Mathematics ..... 3 S.H.
Mechanical Drawing ... 3 S.H.
Surveying ..... 3 S.H.
Applications of Mathematics to science, engineering, commerce and industry ..... 3 S.H.
Statistics ..... 3 S.H.
Consumer Mathematics 3 S.H.
College Physics ..... 3 S.H.
Navigation ..... 3 S.H.
Astronomy ..... 3 S.H.

11. *Music Education*:
General ..... 36 S.H.
a. Applied Music ..... 18 S.H.
Piano ..... 6-12 S.H.
Voice ..... 6-12 S.H.
b. Theory of Music ..... 12 S.H.
(Harmony, form, ear-training)
c. History and Appreciation of Music ..... 6 S.H.
Music Education: Instrumental
a. Applied Music ..... 21 S.H.
Major Instrument ... 12 S.H.
Two minor instruments (piano advised to be one) ..... 9 S.H.
b. Theory of Music (harmony, form, ear-training) 9 S.H.
c. History and Appreciation of Music ..... 6 S.H.

12. *Physical Education*:
Whole-Time ..... 30 S.H.
a. Human Anatomy and Physiology ..... 6 S.H.
b. Principles, Organization, Administration, and Supervision of Physical Education and Health Education ..... 6-8 S.H.
*c. Physical Education Skills and Applied Techniques ..... 6-8 S.H.
Must include at least four of the following:
(1) Group games of low organization (games adaptable to adult groups and to children of elementary school age.)
(2) Dual and single games (tennis, handball, golf, badminton, track, and field events)
(3) Group games of high organization (football, soccer, rugby, basketball, baseball, volley ball, speed ball, lacrosse, and field hockey)
(4) Rythms and dances
(5) Gymnastics and stunts
(6) Aquatics
d. Individual Corrective Physical Education ..... 2-4 S.H.
e. Health Education ... 4-7 S.H.
(1) Methods and Materials in Health Education. If Methods and Materials are used toward fulfilling the general education requirements, the additional work in the field of Health and Physical Education must be taken to fulfill major requirements 2-3 S.H.
(2) Hygiene, including personal health, public health, child hygiene, sanitation, and immunology ..... 2-4 S.H.
f. Biology ..... 6 S.H.

* Required Service courses not acceptable toward meeting these requirements.

Part-Time Teacher of Physical and Health Education and Coaches of Athletic Teams ..... 15 S.H.
This shall include:
1. Principles, organization, administration, and supervision of Physical Education and Health ..... 3-4 S.H.
2. Physical Education skills and applied techniques (1) ..... 8-9 S.H.
   a. Group games of low organization (games adaptable to adult groups and to children of elementary age)
   b. Dual and single games (tennis, handball, golf, badminton, track, and field events, etc.)
   c. Group games of high organization (football, soccer, rugby, basketball, baseball, volley ball, speed ball, lacrosse, field hockey, etc.)
   d. Rhythms and dances
   e. Gymnastics and stunts
   f. Aquatics
3. Health Education, including the teaching of Health and school health problems ..... 3-4 S.H.

13. *Science* ..... 30 S.H.
   a. Biology ..... 6 S.H.
   b. Chemistry ..... 6 S.H.
   c. Physics ..... 6 S.H.
   d. Geography or Geology ..... 3 S.H.
   e. Electives from a, b, c, or d ..... 9 S.H.

   Individual certification will be granted in any of the specific areas a, b, c, or d, in which 12 semester hours credit is presented. Certification for the subject of *General Science* will require credit for 18 semester hours from three of the four areas a, b, c, and d.

14. *Social Studies* ..... 30 S.H.
   a. European History or World History ..... 6 S.H.
   b. American History ... 6 S.H.
   c. From Government, Geography, Economics or Sociology ..... 12 S.H.
   d. Electives from any of above ..... 6 S.H.

   Individual certification will be granted in any of the specific areas: History, Government, Geography, Economics and Sociology, in which 12 semester hours' credit is presented. Certification for Citizenship or Civics, or Problems in American Democracy would require credit for at least 18 semester hours from Government, Economics and Sociology.

15. *Agriculture:*
   B.S. Degree in Agriculture Education, including professional credits required for teachers of other high school subjects.

For Grammar Grade or Primary Certificates

Class A

These are certificates required of elementary teachers. They require a degree from a standard four-year college. As a part of the work, or in addition to it, the applicant shall have:

1. English ..... 12 S.H.
   Required:
   English in General Education
   Children's Literature ..... 2 or 3 S.H.
   Recommended:
   Advanced Grammar and Composition ..... 3 S.H.
   Speech ..... 3 S.H.
2. American History ..... 6 S.H.
   Government ..... 2-3 S.H.
3. Geography ..... 6 S.H.
   (including Principles and Regional)
4. Art ..... 6 S.H.
   Music ..... 6 S.H.
5. Health and Physical Education ..... 10 S.H.
   This would include:
   Principles, Practices and Pro-

cedures in Physical Education for Elementary Schools 2 S.H.
Principles, Practices and Procedures in Health for Elementary Schools ..... 2 S.H.

6. Education ..... 18 S.H.
   a. The Pupil ..... 6 S.H.
   b. The School ..... 6 S.H.
   c. Teaching and Practicum ..... 6 S.H.*

(Correspondence courses available in these areas are indicated under the Department of Education.)

Note: The overall specific requirements are the same for the Primary and Grammar Grade A Certificates. In certain areas, however, particularly in Education, it is expected that there would be slightly different emphases for the two groups.

Requirements for the Bachelor's Degrees

The matter below, taken from the University Catalogue, is inserted so that correspondence students may select their courses in line with the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, should they desire to do so. The course leading to this degree is designed to provide a general, well rounded, liberal education. The amount of correspondence work accepted for degree credit is explained on page 10. Students who plan to take Music as their major subject should consult the University's General Catalogue for information concerning their programs for the freshman and sophomore years. Those interested in other bachelor's degrees should likewise be guided by the University Catalogue. The University Catalogue should be consulted for information regarding grade averages and other requirements for graduation.

In order to be recommended for the degree a student must pass satisfactorily and in accordance with the qualitative standard in force the work prescribed for the lower division and at least ninety (90) quarter hours in the upper division, including the prescribed subjects listed below and elective subjects in accordance with the requirements stated. At least three quarters within twelve months must be spent in residence during the last year before a degree will be granted. It is possible for a student who has met this requirement and who needs additional credit of one or two courses to arrange with his dean to complete the work by correspondence if suitable courses are offered.

In his first two years the student pursues a more or less definite curriculum, according to the following plan:

* Must include at least 45 clock hours of actual teaching.

BACHELOR OF ARTS

Freshman Year

Required:
- *English 1-2
- *Social Science 1-2
- Hygiene 11
- Physical Education 1, 2, 3

Choose two:
- Chemistry 1-2-3 or 1-2-31
- Geology 1, Geography 38
- *Geology 41-42
- Physics 20, 24, 25
- Botany 1—Zoology 1

Choose one:
- **Mathematics 7, 8 or R, 7X, 8
- xGreek 3-4 (or 1-2)
- xxLatin 3-4 (or 1-2)

Choose two:
- zFrench 3-4
- z*German 3-4
- zGreek 3-4
- zxxLatin 3-4
- zSpanish 3-4

Sophomore Year

Humanities: Four courses to be selected by choosing A, or B, or C, below:

A. English and Fine Arts, two courses:
  *English 3, required:
  One of the following: *English 4 or 5 or 6; Art 41 or 42 or 43; Music 41.
  Classical Language or Literature, two courses.

B. English and Fine Arts, two courses as indicated in A, above.
  French or *German or Spanish, two courses.

C. Classical Language or Literature in the original or in translation, two courses from:
  Greek 1-2; 3-4; 21-22; 21-82; 31, 61.
  Latin 1-2; †3-4; 21-22; 32; 62.
  French or *German or Spanish, two courses.

Social Sciences: Two courses. Choice may be made from the following:
- Anthropology 41
- Economics 31-32
- Education 41 and an additional course to be approved by the School of Education
- *History 21, 22
- *History 41, 42
- *History 44, 45
- ††Philosophy 21, 22, 41, 42
- ***Political Science 41, 42
- *Sociology 51, 52

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* Offered by correspondence.
** Only Mathematics 7, 8 offered by correspondence.
x Students who choose Greek or Latin in this group must choose a modern foreign language to meet the requirements in foreign language. Courses 1-2 may be taken by students who did not have classics in high school.
xx Only Latin 3 given by correspondence.
z Students placed in Foreign Language course number 1 may meet the requirement with courses 1-2, 3-4, provided they have no entrance deficiency in foreign language.
† Only Latin 3 offered by correspondence.
*** Only 41 offered by correspondence.
†† Only 21, 22, and 41 offered by correspondence.

Natural Science and Mathematics as follows:

Two courses in natural science, or one course in natural science and one course in mathematics. These with the freshman courses in science must include one course in a physical science (chemistry, physics, geology, geography) and at least one course in a biological science (botany, zoology, psychology). Selection may be made from the following courses:

Astronomy 31, 32
Botany 41, 42
Chemistry 1-2-3 or 1-2-31; 41, 42
Geology 1, Geography 38
*Geology 41, 42
xxMathematics 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36
Physics 20, 24-25, 34, 35
Psychology 24, 25
Zoology 41, 42
Physical Education 4, 5, 6

Junior and Senior Years

For the purpose of providing the proper concentration for the junior and senior years the subjects of the curriculum have been grouped under three Divisions: the Division of the Humanities, the Division of Natural Science and the Division of Social Science. The Division of Teacher Training, under the direction of the Dean of the University's School of Education, has been organized for the purpose of administration, guidance, and program-making in the field of teacher training. At the end of a student's second year he must choose one of the Divisions for his major work during his last two years. Having made his choice his work will be directed by the Chairman of the Division chosen. In general he will be expected to take about one-third of his work in one Department, one-third in allied Departments in the same Division, and one-third elective in other Divisions. It is understood that if no program of a Division meets the needs of a student he may submit a program of his own, which he may follow if it meets with the approval of the Division chosen for his major work. It is required that the last year's work will be taken in residence. Special cases will be handled individually. (See page 18.)

NOTE: Persons interested in fulfilling the requirements for a teacher's certificate should refer to pages 14-18 inclusive.

The United States Armed Forces Institute

The University of North Carolina is one of a group of colleges and universities selected by the United States Government to offer correspondence courses to those in service, the Government paying part of the expense. Military personnel of the U. S. Army, U. S. Air Force, U. S. Navy, U. S. Coast Guard and U. S. Marine Corps are eligible to enroll under the

xx Only Math 31 offered by correspondence.
* Given by correspondence.

Institute plan, provided they take courses approved by the War Department. The following subjects are included in the University's approved courses: Art, Commerce, Education, English, Geography, German, History, Latin, Mathematics, Music, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Religion, Sociology and Spanish. A leaflet giving full information is available and will be sent upon request. The Government will pay the tuition, while the person in service pays a registration fee of $4.00 and for the books.

Those desiring to enroll under this plan should send to the Commandant of The Armed Forces Institute, Madison 3, Wisconsin (1) one of the application blanks in the back of the catalogue with (2) an Institute blank on which is a statement of the organization commander's approval and (3) a money order, cashier's check or certified check made out to the Treasurer of this University for the student's share of the cost. If the Armed Forces Institute application forms cannot be secured from a post, camp or station commander, they may be obtained from the Institute headquarters, Madison 3, Wisconsin.

Courses for Veterans

The University of North Carolina has a contract with the Veterans Administration to offer courses to veterans under Public Law No. 16 and Public Law No. 346 at the expense of the Government. No subsistence allowance is paid the veteran and one-fourth of the elapsed time used in completing correspondence courses will be charged against the student's period of eligibility. For instance, a person spending four months on correspondence work would have one month charged against his period of eligibility. *A veteran wishing to enroll under Public Law No. 16* should forward to the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction one of its regular application blanks and a statement (Form 7—1905) from his Veterans Administration regional office to the effect that he is eligible to enroll. Upon the receipt of these, material for the course or courses selected will be sent with full instructions. *A veteran desiring to enroll under Public Law No. 346* should forward to the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction with one of its regular application blanks his certificate of eligibility.

The necessary course material with full instructions will be forwarded promptly to the veteran when the proper papers have been received by the Bureau. A person attending school and needing a correspondence course at the same time, may be enrolled with his dean's permission and the approval of the Veterans Administration. In such case no charge in time will be made against his entitlement for the correspondence course. An applicant may have two enrollments at a time. Any veteran who decides to interrupt or discontinue his correspondence work or who completes no assignments within a period of four consecutive months will be placed in interrupted, or discontinued status. The veteran's entitlement will be charged for the time he is enrolled even though no assignments are submitted. The Veterans Administration will not pay in excess of $500 for correspondence work during a veteran's period of eligibility.

Adult Education

Special arrangements will be made with instructors to meet the requirements of adult students who, for various reasons, desire to continue studying. Any mature person or group of persons, regardless of previous education, may register for any of the subjects listed in this bulletin, and the instructor will endeavor to adjust the course to the individual needs and interests. Courses in Philosophy, Psychology, Education, Religion and Sociology are especially recommended for homemakers, social workers, parents and teachers. Literary and civic club members will find courses in History, English, Political Science, foreign language, Art and Music valuable. For those in business there are courses in Business English, Business Law, Mathematics, etc.

How to Select and Register for Correspondence Work

Read carefully all the preceding pages. Then look through the list of courses and select one or two which you need or in which you are most interested. Next fill out the application blank in the back of this bulletin; detach and mail it with a check or money order to the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Before writing to the Division be sure to fill out *every line* of the application blank. If you are a school teacher, be certain to give exact information, where called for, concerning your teacher's certificate: i.e., *kind* (whether elementary, primary, grammar grade, or high school); *class* (whether A, B, or C); and *number*.

Textbooks will not be sent unless requested on the application blank. Those wishing to purchase texts should send an amount sufficient to cover their cost or request that they be sent C.O.D.

Courses of Instruction

NOTE: Unless otherwise stated in the description of the courses, the "c" numbers are the same as in the University catalogue and also correspond to the "s" numbers in the summer school catalogue. For the complete understanding of a course, both the "a" and "b" parts should be taken. For degree credit both parts are required.

NOTE: The fees here listed apply to residents of North Carolina. Fees for non-residents are $11.50 for a half course and $19.00 for a whole course. *In addition* to the course fee, each student (resident and non-resident) must pay at the time of his enrollment one registration fee of $2.00 which shall entitle him to administrative and office service for one year. (See pages 10-11.)

DEPARTMENT OF ART

c41.
THE HISTORY AND APPRECIATION OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ART.
Mr. Bryant.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

A survey of the architecture, sculpture, and painting from the beginnings of art through the Gothic period.

*SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

cla.
ACCOUNTING.
Mr. Barclay.

No credit.
Fee, $10.00.
15 assignments.

Study of the fundamental principles of double entry bookkeeping; books of original entry; ledger; preparation of financial statements.

clb.
ACCOUNTING.
Mr. Barclay.

No credit.
Fee, $10.00.
15 assignments.

Continuation of cla; closing and adjusting the books; the work sheet; control accounts; the partnership.

c91-c92.
BUSINESS LAW.
Professor Hobbs.
Prerequisites, Economics 31-32 if taken for credit.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $16.50 each.
27 assignments each.

The aim of the course is to give the student an understanding of the main principles of law that govern in the daily conduct of business. The topics discussed are: contracts, agencies, negotiable instruments, sales, bailments, corporations, partnerships and bankruptcy.

Allied Subjects

**c6.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

* Credit courses listed under the School of Business Administration count only toward the S.B. Degree in Business Administration.

** Persons working for the S.B. Degree in Business Administration should take English c51 instead of this course.

c51.
BUSINESS ENGLISH.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

c162.
MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA
(See description of this course listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

DEPARTMENT OF DRAMATIC ART

c155a.
PLAYWRITING.
Professor Patterson.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
18 assignments.

A practical course for the student playwright in the analysis of the one-act play, with a special study of the materials and technical devices for achieving dramatic effect, and some consideration of the sources from which subject matter may be drawn.

c155b.
PLAYWRITING.
Professor Patterson.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

This course is a continuation of c155a. The emphasis, however, is less on theory and more on practice. One one-act play of some merit will be required and the course will be largely made up of criticism, suggestions and comments on the play from its inception to its final form. The aim is to give the student as much individual attention as possible.

c162.
MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA.
Professor Jurgensen.

Credit 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A study of representative plays of the modern period from Ibsen to Giraudoux.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

*c71a-c71b.
EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY.
Professor Jordan.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
15 assignments each.

The critical consideration of such topics as original nature of man, heredity versus environment, kinds of learning, and factors influencing learning, individual differences, mental hygiene, and mental measurement.

**c94a-c94b.
CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

A course for teachers on the organization and direction of activities in the classroom. Class routine, lesson planning, conduct of the recitation and extra-curricular activities will be included.

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* These courses come in the area of The Pupil for teachers working for certification credit in North Carolina.

** These courses come in the area of The School for teachers working for certification credit in North Carolina.

c97a-c97b.
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE.
Professor Kalp.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

In general, the aim of the course is to acquaint the students with children's reading in order that they may understand the varying appeals that books make to children and thus learn to select books with consideration for the different age groups and differing backgrounds of children.

*c98a-c98b.
THE TEACHER AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION.
Professor Rosenstengel.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The general purpose of this course is to give the student an understanding of the scope and general character of the public school system, of its organization and the administrative units and agencies through which it is managed, and those administrative problems in which the classroom teacher may be expected to participate.

*c99a.
PRINCIPLES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.
Mr. Holmes.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

This course emphasizes theory, objectives and types of organization of secondary education, the curriculum as related to aims of secondary education and modern American life and guidance in the secondary school.

*c99b.
METHODS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.
Mr. Holmes.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

Modern methods of teaching and measuring results of teaching in secondary schools, extra-curricular activities, classroom management and procedures are stressed.

c103a.
ELEMENTS OF STATISTICAL METHODS IN EDUCATION.
Professor Jordan.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
15 assignments.

This course provides the statistical training necessary for understanding the reports of modern educational investigations and for interpreting simple research projects. It is designed to equip the student to meet the statistical requirements for a M.A. degree in Education at the University.

*c130.
PRINCIPLES AND METHODS IN ADULT EDUCATION.
Professor McKee.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

Consideration will be given in this course to (1) principles in organizing adult study groups; (2) how adults learn; (3) guidance and counselling of adults; (4) preparing curriculum materials for adult groups; and (5) teaching and learning methods and techniques in adult education.

* These courses come in the area of The School for teachers working for certification credit in North Carolina.

c142a-c142b.
HISTORIC FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN EDUCATION.
Professor Knight or Assistant.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
15 assignments each.

This course traces the development of some of the more important educational problems of modern times as they have been affected by the social and political facts of history, by the contributions of the leading educational theorists and by institutional practice.

*c143a-c143b.
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.
Professor Knight or Assistant.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The purpose of this course is to present the evolution of the educational practices and institutions of the United States. These will be traced through (a) the period of transplanting of European institutions; (b) the period of modification of institutional life to meet new conditions; and (c) the period of development of an educational system of free schools in harmony with the political and social ideals and institutions of America.

Note: This course is accepted as the equivalent of History 170.

*c144a-c144b.
COMMUNITY EDUCATION.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. each or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) This course develops the bases for community education and for the use of community resources in schools. The student is asked to begin to survey a local community and to become aware of community strengths and weaknesses. Specific books are assigned for review, in order to give a better understanding of the democratic processes in community action.

(b) This course considers the program of community education in action. The theories that were developed in c144a are studied as they have been worked out in many actual situations. The student is asked to make analyses of results and methods in the use of community resources. Specific books which give detailed reports upon community education in action are assigned for review.

**c152a.
THE LANGUAGE ARTS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.
Professor McKee.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

This course aims to develop the student's appreciation of the language arts and his ability to make his language expression clear, vital and effective in all situations. It includes the development of an interrelated and integrated program of language throughout the school.

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* These courses come in the area of The School for teachers working for certification credit in North Carolina.
** Not available before Summer, 1951.

*c152b.
READING AND STUDY HABITS FOR THE ELEMENTARY GRADES.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

This course considers the place of reading and study in the school program, the way teachers may provide for the maximum development of each pupil through making available desirable reading material and the remedial measures needed to meet reading and study difficulties.

*c155.
THE TEACHING OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

The informational content of science is studied in relation to science instruction in the elementary school. Purposes, methods, and materials for such instruction are surveyed. Stress is laid on making the best use of common things at hand, in demonstrating and experimenting.

*c156.
THE TEACHING OF ARITHMETIC IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.
Mrs. Garner.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
17 assignments.

This course deals with the organization and selection of subject matter in arithmetic with modern methods of teaching the subject in the elementary school.

**c160a.
CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION.
Professor Tippett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

The general principles and techniques of curriculum construction on both elementary and secondary school levels comprise the major part of the course. Special attention will be focused upon recent trends in curriculum revision and organization in modern schools.

***c171a-c171b.
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL CHILD.
Mrs. Jordan.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Child development. A study of the growth and development of children up to the time of adolescence. Changes in emotions are emphasized as well as those of intellect. (b) Adolescence. A study of the changes in emotions, attitudes and interests which take place during the adolescent years.

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* These courses come in the area of Teaching and Practicum for teachers working for certification credit in North Carolina.

** This course comes in the area of The School for teachers working for certification credit in North Carolina.

*** These courses come in the area of The Pupil for teachers working for certification credit in North Carolina.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

NOTE: Freshman English is now offered in residence at the University in two courses of five quarter hours each, instead of three courses of three quarter hours each, as formerly. Those who have had one or more of the three courses may complete their work in Freshman English by taking by correspondence the remaining part of the three course arrangement. Those having no credit in Freshman English should take English clx.

c1-c2-c3.
FRESHMAN ENGLISH.
Mrs. Sharpe.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

English cl consists of intensive reading of prose selections. The course has for its objective the mastery of the sentence and the relation of sentence structure to paragraph structure. There are further readings and exercises in English c2 with attention centered upon the paragraph and its place in the longer essay. Word study and vocabulary building are integral parts of the course. English c3 is devoted to a study of the essay as a prose form; composition centers upon the writing of longer essays, letters, and expositions. Extensive reading is introduced and an approach to the problems of the study of literature is undertaken.

clx.
FRESHMAN ENGLISH.
Mrs. Sharpe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course has for its object the mastery of the sentence and the relation of sentence structure to paragraph structure. Intensive reading of prose selections is included.

c2x.
FRESHMAN ENGLISH.
Mrs. Sharpe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
26 assignments.

This course concerns a study of the essay as a prose form; composition centers upon the writing of longer essays than in clx, letters, and expositions. Extensive reading is introduced and an approach to the problems of the study of literature is undertaken.

NOTE: Those having had one or more of the Sophomore English courses English 22-23-24 (3 qu. hrs. each), as formerly offered at the University, may secure by correspondence whatever part is needed to complete the requirement. Full information will be sent upon request.

cE3.
ENGLISH LITERATURE (Sophomore).
Mr. Anderson.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
24 assignments.

This course is an introduction to English literature through the study of representative works of selected chief writers, ending with the work of Coleridge.

cE4.
ENGLISH LITERATURE (Sophomore).
Mr. Anderson.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
28 assignments.

This course is a continuation of English literature begun in cE3 and continuing through the 19th century, with the addition of a study of short stories.

c6.

BUSINESS ENGLISH.
Mr. Harper.
This course is similar to English c51. Students should not take both courses.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
17 assignments.

c50.

SHAKESPEARE.
Mr. Dollarhide.
Sophomore, junior, and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A study of Shakespeare's plays. About twenty representative comedies, tragedies and histories will be studied.

c51.

BUSINESS ENGLISH.
Mr. Harper.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A course in the vocabulary, forms and literature of the business profession with special attention to letters of application and inquiry; routine, collection, adjustment and sales letters, business reports, and technical articles. Specimen letters are studied and criticized and actual business problems solved through written work.

c53.

CREATIVE WRITING:
THE SHORT STORY.
Professor Eaton.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A composition course designed primarily to offer to students an opportunity for short story writing and to familiarize them with the form. The work of various European and American authors will be studied.

Note: Those who have not had a course equivalent to English c54a are advised to take that course first. Applicants for this course who have not had English c54a should send to the Bureau, for the instructor's consideration, a sample manuscript of their own and a fee of 50c.

c54a.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SHORT STORY.
Mrs. Minton.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
17 assignments.

An analysis of numerous short story materials and techniques. Introductory to English c53.

c54.

CREATIVE WRITING.
THE SHORT STORY (Advanced).
Prerequisite, English c53, or the equivalent.
Professor Eaton.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

The major aim of this course is to discover and develop the creative writing abilities of students in the planning and preparing of short stories.

c81.
AMERICAN LITERATURE.
Professor Adams.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course concerns a study of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and of the early 19th century through Hawthorne and Poe.

c84.
ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1780-1830.
Professor Hudson.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A course in the literature of the English Romantic Period, the purpose of which is to acquaint the student with the best thought and feeling of the time. Special attention is given to the greater poets: Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Shelly, and Keats.

c91.
THE ENGLISH NOVEL.
Mr. Dollarhide.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This is a course in the development of the English novel, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Special attention is given to the works of Jane Austen, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, and George Eliot.

c155a-b.
PLAYWRITING.
(See description of these courses listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

c162.
MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA.

(See description of this course listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

Geology

c41-c42.
INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL GEOLOGY.
Professor Ingram.
Sophomore, junior, and senior electives.

Credit, 4 semester hrs. or 6 quarter hrs. each.
*Fee, $20.00 each.
Lab Fee, $1.00 each.
27 assignments c41.
30 assignments c42.

c41. Dynamical Geology. This course deals with the physical and dynamical geology of the earth.

c42. Historical Geology. A broad study of the geological history of the earth and its inhabitants, as revealed chiefly in earth records. A scientific and cultural course. Laboratory materials used in these courses will be furnished by the Extension Division.

Geography

c15a-c15b.
PRINCIPLES OF GEOGRAPHY.
Professor Gibson.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

This is an introductory course in college geography in which the interrelationship of man and his geographic environment are studied.

* The fee for out-of-state students is $22.50 each.

c31.

INTRODUCTION TO GEOGRAPHY.
Professor Gibson.

Credit, 2⅔ semester hrs. or 4 quarter hrs.
**Fee, $13.35.
20 assignments.

This course, primarily for freshmen and sophomores, is a part of the basic course in elementary geography. It is a regional study of the principles underlying the climate, relief, native vegetation, soils, and distribution of minerals and metals of the world.

*c51.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY.
Professor Gibson.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

The course deals with man's interaction with his varying environment in the development of industries, and with the geographic conditions of different countries as giving rise to commerce.

c157.

NORTH AMERICA.
Professor Gibson.

Credit, 3-1/3 semester hrs. or five quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course comprises a regional study of North America with emphasis on the portion occupied by English-speaking peoples. A brief introduction to the continent as a whole, with emphasis on climate, terrain, and natural resources as fundamental bases of the present geographic pattern, is followed by a study of each of the several regions in light of its own geographic conditions and its place in the whole geographic pattern. A detailed study of Southeastern United States climaxes the course.

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

c3-c4.

GERMAN: INTERMEDIATE COURSE.
Professor Reichert.
Prerequisite, one full year of German.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $16.50 each.
27 assignments each.

Translation, sight reading, composition and grammar.

c21-c22.

GERMAN LITERATURE.
Professor Reichert.
Prerequisite, German 1-2-3-9 or the equivalent.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

German c21 concerns German literature from the beginnings to Lessing and Schiller. German c22 is a study of Classicism and Romanticism. German 23, the third course in the series, is not offered by correspondence. It is a study of Realism and Contemporary literature.

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* Temporarily discontinued.
** The fee for non-residents is $15.35, in addition to the registration fee. See page 10.

c24.
SCIENTIFIC GERMAN.
Professor Reichert.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
Prerequisite, German 1-2-3-4 or equivalent. *27 assignments.*

The aim of the course is to develop skill in reading German in the special field in which the student is interested. These fields are (1) chemistry, (2) medicine, biology, zoology, and (3) physics, mathematics. Others than undergraduates will find the course valuable in that it will aid persons in preparing for the language examinations required for an advanced degree. The course is open to those who have completed the equivalent of four quarters in German and have a basic knowledge of German vocabulary and grammar. It is so designed as to enable persons who have not studied German recently to secure refresher material in order to do the work satisfactorily.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

NOTE: Those who have had at the University one or more of the freshman social science courses, Social Science 1-2-3, 3 qu. hrs. each, as formerly offered, may secure by correspondence whatever part is needed to complete the requirement. Full information will be sent upon request.

c1x.
FRESHMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE.
Professor Godfrey.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
26 assignments.

This is an historical study of the institutions of western civilization, designed to promote an understanding of the social, political, and economic aspects of the modern world.

c2x.
FRESHMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE.
Professor Godfrey.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
25 assignments.

This is a continuation of Social Science c1x, to be taken only by those who have had that course or the equivalent.

c21, c22.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
Professor Lefler.
Sophomore elective.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $16.50 each.
27 assignments each.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course begins with Columbus' discovery of America and goes to the end of the Civil War; the second begins at this point and ends in 1949. Both c21, c22 and c71, c72 may not be taken for credit.

c21, c22, c23.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
Professor Lefler.
Sophomore elective.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
19 assignments, c21.
18 assignments, c22.
17 assignments, c23.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course carries the story from Columbus' discovery of America to about 1843, the second from this point to 1897 and the third covers approximately the last five decades.

Note: Those desiring degree credit at the University should take History c21, c22 instead of these courses. Those who have had any part of the three course arrangement previously given as History 21, 22, 23, 3 quarter hours each, may secure the remaining work by correspondence.

c41.
ANCIENT HISTORY.
Professor Caldwell or Assistant.
Sophomore, Junior and Senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
26 assignments.

A course dealing with the history of the Orient, Greece, and Rome to the time of Constantine. Particular attention will be paid to social and economic conditions, and cultural and religious developments.

c42.
MEDIEVAL HISTORY.
Professor MacKinney.
Sophomore, Junior and Senior electives.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course deals with the history of Western European civilization during the Middle Ages (300-1500). Special emphasis is given to the economic-social and cultural developments during the late Roman Empire, the so-called "Dark Ages," the age of the Crusades, and the Renaissance.

c44, c45.
ENGLISH HISTORY.
Professor Godfrey.
Sophomore elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $16.50 each.
25 assignments each.

History c44 is a survey of English history from the earliest times to 1603, while History c45 covers the period from then until 1944.

c44, c45, c46.
ENGLISH HISTORY.
Professor Godfrey.
Sophomore elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
17 assignments, c44.
16 assignments, c45.
17 assignments, c46.

A survey of English history is made in these courses, History c44 concerning the period from early times to the Lancestrian Revolution, 1399; History c45 carrying the study on from then until the end of the Stuart Period, 1718; History c46 continuing until about 1944.
Note: Those desiring degree credit at the University should take History c44, c45 instead of these courses.

c71, c72.
AMERICAN HISTORY.
Professor Lefler.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $16.50 each.
27 assignments each.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course begins with Columbus' discovery of America and goes to the end of the Civil War; the second begins at this point and ends in 1949. Both c21, c22 and c71, c72 may not be taken for credit.

c143.
AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY.
Professor Johnson.
Junior-senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course is a chronological treatment of American foreign relations from 1763 to the present. It discusses important characters and events in our diplomatic history and traces the origin and development of basic trends in our foreign policy.

c161.
NORTH CAROLINA, 1584-1815.
Professor Lefler.
Junior-senior elective.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A survey of the political, social, economic and cultural development of North Carolina from the first settlement until 1815.

c162.
NORTH CAROLINA, 1815-1950.
Professor Newsome.
Junior-senior elective.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A survey of political, economic, social and cultural development in North Carolina since 1815.

c170a-c170b.
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

(See description of these courses listed under Department of Education.)

Note: Those who have taken Education c37a-b or c143a-b in previous years should not take these courses.

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN

c1x.
INTERMEDIATE LATIN.
Miss Motto.
Prerequisites, two years of high school Latin, or one year of elementary college Latin.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
25 assignments.

This course is concerned with the translating of Cicero's *De Senectute*, with work in vocabulary, and with a review of the principles of grammar.

c3.
INTERMEDIATE LATIN.
Miss Motto.
Prerequisites, two years of high school Latin, or one year of elementary college Latin.
Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

The course consists of a review of Latin grammar and a study of Cicero's *De Amicitia.*

c8.
LATIN COMPOSITION.
Miss Motto.
Prerequisites, four years of high school Latin, or two years of college Latin.
Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
28 assignments.

The course will begin with translation into Latin of detached sentences illustrating the general principles of syntax and word order; the second half of the course will deal with continuous narrative and with questions of diction and style.

c26. LATIN POETRY. Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Miss Motto. Fee, $16.50.
Prerequisites, four years of high school Latin, or two years of college Latin. *27 assignments.*

The course comprises the reading of the *Phormio* of Terence and selected odes of Horace. Emphasis is put on content and literary form.

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

cnA. PLANE GEOMETRY. Non-Credit
Professor Peacock. Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A course designed to enable the student to acquire a thorough knowledge of the facts of plane geometry needed for continued work in mathematics and allied subjects. This course will be accepted by the University to remove a deficiency in plane geometry for admission.

c1. INTRODUCTORY MATHEMATICS. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Professor Garner. Fee, $10.00.
18 assignments.

This course treats the basic problems of college algebra. For a longer course in the subject, see Mathematics c7.

c2. INTRODUCTORY MATHEMATICS. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Professor Garner. Fee, $10.00.
18 assignments.

A study of functions and their graphs, the limit notion and graphical treatment of the fundamental notions of the differential and integral calculus.

*c3. PLANE TRIGONOMETRY. Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Professor Linker. Fee, $10.00.
18 assignments.

The fundamentals of plane trigonometry are studied with less extensive application than in Mathematics c8.

Note: Those desiring degree credit at the University should take Mathematics c7-c8 instead of c1-c2-c3.

c7. COLLEGE ALGEBRA. Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Professor Garner. Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course treats the fundamental operations of algebra and emphasizes the solution of linear and quadratic equations. For a shorter course, see Mathematics c1.

c8. PLANE TRIGONOMETRY. Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Professor Linker. Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course concerns itself with the definitions of the trigonometric functions, their relations to each other, and the application of these functions and log tables to the solutions of plane triangles.

* This course may be taken in place of Mathematics 9a in residence.

c13. SPHERICAL TRIGONOMETRY.
Professor Garner.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
18 assignments.

This course is designed especially for those who are interested in nautical and aerial navigation. It concerns a study of the mathematics relations existing among the sides and the angles of a triangle on the surface of a sphere.

c31. ANALYTIC GEOMETRY.
Mr. Wahab.
Prerequisites, Math 7 and 8.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course includes the standard treatment of lines, conic sections, transformation of coordinate systems by translation and rotation, polar coordinates, parametric equations, lines and planes in solid analytic geometry.

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

c1. ELEMENTARY THEORY OF MUSIC.
Mr. Garrett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
15 assignments.

A study of the rudiments of music; scales, intervals, and elementary harmonic material with practice in melody writing.

c14-c15-c16. HARMONY.
Prerequisite, Music 1, or the equivalent.
Mr. Garrett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00 each.
18 assignments each.

A first-year course in harmony. This covers the ordinary harmonic resources up to the chords of the seventh, their inversions, and elementary modulation.

c24-c25. HISTORY OF MUSIC.
Mr. Garrett.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
15 assignments each.

These courses correspond to the first two courses in residence in the series Music 24-25-26. Music c24 covers the period from antiquity to the end of the sixteenth century. Music c25 concerns the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Phonograph recordings of the music of the periods are used.

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

c21. INTRODUCTORY LOGIC.
Professor Adams.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A study of the fundamental principles of efficient thinking as a basis for rational belief and intelligent action. Practical orientation with emphasis on meeting problematic situations. Consideration of linguistic obstacles to clear and straight thinking; standards of valid reasoning; methods of confirming statements.

c22. INTRODUCTORY ETHICS
Professor Kattsoff.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A study of morals and of the theory of good conduct; problems connected with the search for a final moral standard and with so-called "ethical relativity"; acquaintance with the major types of moral theory, viewed in the perspective of their contribution to issues which confront man in the modern world.

c41. INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY.
Professor Kattsoff.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course will attempt to introduce students to basic problems in the various fields of philosophy. Its purpose will be to broaden students' views with respect to problems of contemporary civilization.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

c41. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
Professor Monroe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A general course dealing with the national government of the United States. Attention will be directed to the constitutional basis, the historical development, and the practical organization and operation of the institutions established for administering national affairs.

c81. AMERICAN STATE GOVERNMENT.
Professor Monroe.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A study of the principles, organization, and administrative methods and functions of the state governments.

cn1. CITIZENSHIP.
Professor Wager.

Non-Credit.
Fee, $4.50.
21 assignments.

This course in citizenship is offered in cooperation with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service to persons in the state who wish to become citizens of the United States. It is designed especially for those who cannot attend citizenship classes. Other sections of the course are available, the number of assignments for each varying.

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

*c21x-c22x-c23x. GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY.
Mr. Papanestor.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

The aim of the course is to present the essential phenomena of psychology, and the various methods of approach. Emphasis is placed on the organic relationships within the whole field.

Note: Those needing five quarter hour courses in general psychology may take Psychology c24x and c25x, 5 quarter hours each.

* Credit only for lecture part of course.

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

c28.
THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BIBLE.
Mr. Kidder.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course is an introduction to the literature of the Bible, with special consideration of the impact of the Hebrew-Christian faith upon modern man as he seeks a religious orientation in the contemporary situation.

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Note: Candidates for degree credit at the University are required to take their courses in this department in residence.

Spanish

c3-c4.
SPANISH COMPOSITION.
Mr. Sharpe.
Prerequisites, either two years of high school or one year of college Spanish.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $16.50 each.
27 assignments in c3.
26 assignments in c4.

The object of these courses is to provide the student with an opportunity to acquire practice in writing Spanish.

c21-c22.
SPANISH LITERATURE.
Mr. Sharpe.
Prerequisites, Spanish 3-4 or 11-12-13 or the equivalent.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $16.50 each.
27 assignments each.

Spanish c21 is a general survey of Spanish literature during the 16th and 17th centuries. There is the reading of selections from Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Calderon, etc. Spanish c22 gives a general survey of Spanish literature since the classical period, with special stress on the 19th century.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

General Sociology

c51.
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.
Mr. Grigg.
Sophomore, junior, senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

A study is made of contemporary society, the forces underlying it, its organization and trends.

c52a-c52b.
SOCIAL PROBLEMS.
Mr. Grigg.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Part I. Natural and cultural heritage, geographic backgrounds, natural resources, technology and change, biological and psychological backgrounds, regional factors.

Part II. A study of the people—workers, youth, elders, children, women, races, nationalities and the handicapped.

(b) The social institutions: government and democracy, industry and work, school and education, church and religion, home and family, the community—rural and urban. Testing grounds of the people; world outlook, public welfare, social technology, social planning, and modern trends.

c62a-c62b.
MARRIAGE.
Professor Hill and Assistant.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Backgrounds of American marriage institutions; analysis of mate selection and the involvement processes leading to marriage.

(b) Adjustments after marriage; marital conflict and accommodation; problems of parenthood; consideration of counseling and other stabilizing devices provided by communities.

c125.
THE NEGRO.
Mr. Grigg.
Junior and senior elective.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs.
or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course includes a study of the American Negro's historical and cultural background, aspects of Negro life and the problems of race relations.

c161a-c161b.
SOCIOLOGY AND THE FAMILY.
Professor Hill and Assistant.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) A world view of the variety of family forms using an historical-sociological frame of reference; contributions of Western Civilization to the contemporary American scene.

(b) Differentiation of modern American family types; impact of urbanization and other sources of social change on marriage and family designs; unsolved problems and proposed solutions.

c173a-c173b.
COMMUNITY RECREATION.
Professor Meyer.

Credit, 2 semester hrs.
or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
16 assignments each.

(a) Foundations of organized recreation: backgrounds, social institutions, recreation and government, private interest, planning and legislation, organization and administration, personnel problems.

(b) Areas and facilities: program of activities, program planning, business procedure, finances, public relations, emerging recreation opportunities.

c175. EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.
Professor Meyer.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

In this course a study is made of the extra-curricular activities of pupils in the interest of arranging successful programs.

c176a. PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION OF RECREATION.
Professor Meyer.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs.
Fee, $10.00.
16 assignments.

The course justifies recreation as a function of government, stresses the recreation interests of government on all levels, concerns desirable planning and administration, offers constructive illustrations and suggestions of recreation possibilities under government sponsorship and indicates suitable forms of publicity leading to favorable public relations in the field of recreation.

c181a-c181b. REGIONAL SOCIOLOGY OF THE SOUTH.
Mr. Grigg.

Credit, 2 semester hrs. or 3 quarter hrs. each.
Fee, $10.00 each.
15 assignments each.

A study is made of the South in terms of natural resources, human resources, and culture, with emphasis upon regional planning.

Rural Sociology

c102. RURAL SOCIOLOGY.
Professor Hobbs.

Credit, 3⅓ semester hrs. or 5 quarter hrs.
Fee, $16.50.
27 assignments.

This course makes a study of the rural community, considering the advantages and disadvantages of farm life, rural health, sanitation and social institutions.

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES OFFERED BY COLLEGE EXTENSION DIVISION, NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE, RALEIGH, N. C.

(Applications for these courses should be sent directly to that institution.)

Agriculture

Course	*Credit*
A. I. 312, Animal Nutrition I	3 Term Hours
A. I. 413, Animal Nutrition II	3 Term Hours
Hort. 303, Vegetable Gardening	3 Term Hours
Hort 313, Home Floriculture	3 Term Hours
Poul. 201, General Poultry	3 Term Hours
Poul. 333, Poultry Nutrition	3 Term Hours
Poul. 401, Poultry Diseases	3 Term Hours

Agricultural Economics—Rural Sociology

Agr. Econ. 303, Farm Management I	3 Term Hours
Rural Soc. 201, Rural Sociology	3 Term Hours

Architecture

Arch. 321, History of Architecture I	3 Term Hours
Arch. 322, History of Architecture II	3 Term Hours

Education

Ed. 303, Educational Psychology	3 Term Hours
Ed. 304, Educational Psychology	3 Term Hours
Ed. 476, Psychology of Adolescence	3 Term Hours

Economics

Econ. 201, General Economics	3 Term Hours
Econ. 202, General Economics	3 Term Hours
Econ. 203, General Economics	3 Term Hours
Econ. 307, Business Law	3 Term Hours

Statistics

Stat. 361, 362, 363, Industrial Statistics	9 Term Hours

English

Eng. 101, Composition	3 Term Hours
Eng. 102, Composition	3 Term Hours
Eng. 103, Composition	3 Term Hours
Eng. 211, Business English	3 Term Hours
Eng. 265, American Literature I	3 Term Hours
Eng. 266, American Literature II	3 Term Hours
English Review	No Credit

Geology

Geol. 120a, Physical Geology	3 Term Hours
Geol. Ex. 207A, Physical Geography	3 Term Hours
Geol. Ex. 207B, Physical Geography	3 Term Hours

History

Course	*Credit*
Hist. 101, American Economic History to 1789	3 Term Hours
Hist. 102, American Economic History, 1789-1865	3 Term Hours
Hist. 103, American Economic History Since 1865	3 Term Hours
Hist. 211, The Colonial Period of American History	3 Term Hours
Hist. 212, History of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War	3 Term Hours
Hist 213, American National Development, 1860-1920	3 Term Hours
Hist. 221, Modern European History, 1500-1815	3 Term Hours
Hist. 222, Modern European History, 1815-1870	3 Term Hours
Hist 223, Contemporary Europe	3 Term Hours
Hist. 306, History of North Carolina	3 Term Hours
Hist. Ex. 310, Economic and Social History of the South	3 Term Hours
Hist E. 311, Economic and Social History of the South	3 Term Hours
Hist. Ex. 312, Economic and Social History of the South	3 Term Hours
Hist. 320, American Biography	3 Term Hours
Hist. 350, Hispanic American History	3 Term Hours
Hist. Ex. 360, Contemporary History of the U. S.	3 Term Hours

Political Science

Pol. Sc. 211, American Government	3 Term Hours
Pol. Sc. 212, State Government and Administration	3 Term Hours
Pol. Sc. 213, Municipal Government and Administration	3 Term Hours
Pol. Sc. 221, American Political Parties	3 Term Hours

Engineering

I. E. 206, Industrial Organization and Management	3 Term Hours
Introduction to Ceramic Engineering	No Credit
Cer. E. 202, Ceramic Materials	3 Term Hours
Cer. E. 301, Drying Fundamentals and Practice	3 Term Hours
Metal Enamels	No Credit
Ceramic Whiteware Bodies	No Credit
Cer. E. 401, Pyrometry	1 Term Hour
M. E. 101, Engineering Drawing	2 Term Hours
M. E. 102, Engineering Drawing	2 Term Hours
M. E. 103, Engineering Drawing	2 Term Hours
M. E. 201, Descriptive Geometry	2 Term Hours
H. E. 101, Accidents and Their Prevention	3 Term Hours

Mathematics

Math. 101, College Algebra (for Eng. Students)	4 Term Hours
Math. 102, Plane & Spherical Trigonometry	4 Term Hours
Math 103, Analytical Geometry	6 Term Hours
Math. 111, Algebra (for Agricultural & Textile Students)	4 Term Hours
Math. 112, Plane & Spherical Trigonometry (for Agricultural & Textile Students)	4 Term Hours

Course	*Credit*
Math. 201, Calculus I	4 Term Hours
Math. 202, Calculus II	4 Term Hours
Math. 303, Calculus III	4 Term Hours
Review of Algebra	No Credit
Solid Geometry	No Credit

Textiles

Tex. 108, Textile Principles	3 Term Hours
Tex. 203, Textile Yarns	2 Term Hours
Tex. 206, Yarn Manufacture II	3 Term Hours
Tex. 207, Yarn Manufacture II	3 Term Hours
Tex. 237, Fabric Structure	2 Term Hours
Tex. 261, Knitting I	2 Term Hours
Tex. 307, Yarn Manufacture III	3 Term Hours
Tex. 308, Yarn Manufacture III	3 Term Hours
Tex. 341, Fabric Design & Analysis I	3 Term Hours
Tex. 342, Fabric Design & Analysis II	3 Term Hours
Tex. 345, Fabric Technology	3 Term Hours
Tex. 455, Color in Woven Design	3 Term Hours
Tex. 477, Hosiery Manufacturing	3 Term Hours
Tex. 490, Synthetics I	3 Term Hours
Tex. 490A, Synthetics I (without lab)	2 Term Hours

Practical Technical Correspondence Courses

Building and Estimating	No Credit
Land Surveying	No Credit

Modern Languages

M. L. 101, Elementary French	3 Term Hours
M. L. 102, Elementary French	3 Term Hours
M. L. 201, French Prose	3 Term Hours
M. L. 311, Introductory Scientific French	3 Term Hours
M. L. 105, Elementary Spanish	3 Term Hours
M. L. 106, Elementary Spanish	3 Term Hours
M. L. 207, Spanish Prose	3 Term Hours
M. L. 317, Technical Spanish	3 Term Hours
M. L. 103, Elementary German	3 Term Hours
M. L. 104, Elementary German	3 Term Hours
M. L. 204, German Prose	3 Term Hours
M. L. 314, Introductory Scientific German	3 Term Hours

Psychology

Psy. 200, Introduction to Psychology	3 Term Hours
Psy. 302, Psychology of Personality and Adjustment	3 Term Hours
Psy. 303, Educational Psychology	3 Term Hours

Psy. 304, Educational Psychology ..... 3 Term Hours
Psy. 476, Psychology of Adolescence ..... 3 Term Hours

Sociology

Soc. 101, Human Relations ..... 2 Term Hours
Soc. 102, Human Relations ..... 2 Term Hours
Soc. 103, Human Relations ..... 2 Term Hours
Soc. 202, General Sociology ..... 3 Term Hours
Soc. 203, General Sociology ..... 3 Term Hours
Soc. 400, Criminology ..... 3 Term Hours
Soc. 401, Social Pathology ..... 3 Term Hours
Soc. 402, Sociology of City Life ..... 3 Term Hours
Soc. 406, The American Family ..... 3 Term Hours

Zoology

Zool. 108, Heredity and Eugenics ..... 3 Term Hours

For further information write to the College Extension Division, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICES

In addition to the correspondence courses listed in this catalogue, the University of North Carolina offers, through the Extension Division, the following services to the people of the state:

ART. The North Carolina School Art Exhibition is conducted annually in cooperation with the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina and the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs. Circulating art exhibits may be secured on a loan basis.

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS. Sound and silent educational films, lantern slides, recordings and other teaching aids are lent to schools, colleges, and community organizations. A special catalogue of this service may be obtained upon request.

DRAMATIC ART. Assistance is given in organization for dramatic activities, in play selection and production, and in the loan of playbooks and other library material. An annual tournament is conducted in co-operation with the Carolina Dramatic Association.

EXTENSION CLASS INSTRUCTION. Late afternoon, evening, and Saturday classes are organized wherever enough enrollments to cover expenses are secured. Courses of both a vocational and cultural nature are offered, with college credit, if desired.

INTERSCHOLASTIC ACTIVITIES. In cooperation with several University departments and state agencies, the Division conducts annual contests in debating and academic subjects. The High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program is administered as a special service to high schools in this and other states.

LECTURES. Popular and technical lectures and readings by members of the faculty are arranged for schools, clubs, and other community organizations. Lecture courses either on a particular subject or a series of topics may be obtained.

LIBRARY SERVICE. Reading courses, books, and reference materials are lent to individuals and groups interested in the systematic study and discussion of literary, historical, social and other subjects. There are available about one hundred outlines for study suitable for women's clubs or other groups.

MUSIC. Concerts, recitals, and other musical programs are available to community organizations. A program of music appreciation for farm families is sponsored cooperatively with the Agricultural Extension Service.

POSTGRADUATE COURSES. In cooperation with the Division of Health Affairs, programs of extension instruction are conducted both on and off the campus for doctors, dentists, health officials, nurses, and other professional workers.

RADIO. Programs are broadcast through the facilities of commercial stations from the campus studios of the Communication Center.

RECREATION. Leadership training and consultation services are offered to urban and rural communities through the North Carolina Recreation Commission.

SHORT COURSES AND INSTITUTES. Short Courses and Institutes are held at the University for business and professional groups interested in intensive training programs.

THE UNIVERSITY NEWS LETTER, containing the results of studies made of economic and social conditions in North Carolina, is sent free to residents of the state.

For information about any of the above services, write to the UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION, Chapel Hill, N. C.

REGISTRATION BLANK FOR CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Bureau of Correspondence Instruction
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

This blank is to be filled out completely in applicant's own handwriting. It must be accompanied by check or money order to cover fees. For course fees for non-residents of North Carolina and registration fee for all, see page 10.

In sending this application, I agree to abide by the rules and regulations of the Extension Division as set down on pages 9-22 of the catalogue:

1. Name (in full)..... Age.....
   Mr., Mrs., or Miss

   Race.....

2. Present Address:.....
   (Street and Number)

   .....
   (City) (County) (State)

3. Permanent Address.....

4. Previous education.....
   (Be specific, naming degree, institution, etc.)

5. If you have ever registered in any division of this University before, underline which division and give dates:

   Residence term..... Summer School.....

   Extension Class..... Correspondence.....

6. Number and subject of course desired.....

7. Kind of credit desired (mark X): Undergraduate degree credit.....

   Toward what degree?..... At what institution?.....

   If credit is desired elsewhere, have you secured the approval of the authorities?.....

   Certification credit..... Professional credit.....

   No credit..... Occupation.....

8. If teaching, give KIND of certificate held.....Class.....No.....

9. Do you wish to purchase the books through the Extension Division?.....

10. I am enclosing $..... for these amounts:
    (Total)

    $..... Registration Fee (Include if not paid during past 12 months)

    $..... Course Fee, $..... Books

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   Certification credit..... Professional credit.....

   No credit..... Occupation.....

8. If teaching, give KIND of certificate held.....Class.....No.....

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    (Total)

    $..... Registration Fee (Include if not paid during past 12 months)

    $..... Course Fee, $..... Books

STUDY OUTLINES

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY
EXTENSION DEPARTMENT
Chapel Hill

VOLUME XI

Contemporary Poetry, Second Series. Lucile Kelling. January 1945. No. 1
Gardens of the South. Elizabeth Lawrence. April 1945. No. 2
The Pacific World. Walter Spearman. May 1945. No. 3
A Journey to Mexico. Agatha B. Adams. June 1945. No. 4
The Pattern of America. Lucile Kelling. April 1946. No. 5*
Women and the Wide World. E. Chesley Baity. May 1946. No. 6*

VOLUME XII

America Looks Ahead. Walter Spearman. June 1946. No. 1
Reading for Pleasure: Adventure in Reading, Twentieth Series. A. B. Adams and H. D. Harrison. July 1946. No. 2
Arts in the Soviet Union. Part I. Emily Bridgers. October 1946. No. 3
Arts in the Soviet Union. Part II. Emily Bridgers. January 1947. No. 4
Chinese Caravan. Harriet H. Robson. April 1947. No. 5
Visiting Among Recent Books: Adventures in Reading, Twenty-first Series. Walter Spearman. May 1947. No. 6

VOLUME XIII

Other People's Lives, Tenth Series. C. S. Love. October 1947. No. 1
Plays and the Theater, by Kai Jurgensen. January 1948. No. 2
Adventures in Reading, Twenty-second Series: Visiting Among Recent Books. Josephine B. Floyd. April 1948. No. 3
Plays and the Modern World, by Kai Jurgensen. May 1948. No. 4
Contemporary Negro Arts. Agatha B. Adams. June 1948. No. 5
The South in Fiction. Emily Bridgers. July 1948. No. 6

VOLUME XIV

The Nature of Fiction, Jessie Rehder. October 1948. No. 1
John Charles McNeill. A biographical sketch. Agatha B. Adams. January 1949. No. 2
These United States of America. Lucile Kelling. April 1949. No. 3
Plays of Today: 1944-1949. Cornelia S. Love. May 1949. No. 4
The World of Books: Adventures in Reading, Twenty-third Series. Jessie Rehder. June 1949. No. 5
Other People's Lives, Eleventh Series. Cornelia S. Love. July 1949. No. 6

VOLUME XV

North Carolina Writers. Walter Spearman. October 1949. No. 1
Thomas Wolfe: Carolina Student. Agatha B. Adams. January 1950. No. 2 $1.00 net
Adventures in Reading, 24th Series. Mary Cutler Hopkins. April 1950. No. 3
The South in Biography. Emily Bridgers. July 1950. No. 4

VOLUME XVI

Modern French Literature in Translation. Jacques Hardré. October 1950. No. 1
Paul Green of Chapel Hill. Agatha B. Adams. January 1951. No. 2

Subscription per volume, $2.00; to residents of North Carolina, $1.50.
Single copies, 75 cents each; in North Carolina, 50 cents each.
Numbers published before 1950 are 50 cents each; in North Carolina, 25 cents each.
Frequency of publication was reduced from six to four a year, beginning January 1950.

Send for list of previously published *Library Extension Publications.*

Library Extension Department
University of North Carolina Library
Chapel Hill, N. C.

* Out of print. Available for lending only.

PERIODICAL OFFICE
OCT 26 1951

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XXX MARCH, 1951 NO. 4

UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES INSTITUTE APPROVED CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Effective July, 1951

BUREAU OF CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

Published four times a year, September, November, January, and March, by the University of North Carolina Press.
Entered as second-class matter October 19, 1921, Chapel Hill, N. C.

EXTENSION BULLETINS

Vol.	XVIII,	No. 2	*Anglo-American Alliance.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol.	XIX,	No. 2	*Government Ownership and Operation of the Railroads.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol.	XX,	No. 3	*Inter-American Relations.* Price 25c.
Vol.	XXI,	No. 2	*Hemisphere Defense.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXII,	No. 2	*Federal Aid to Education.* Debate Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXIV,	No. 4	*Lectures in the Humanities* (First Series). By Raymond Adams, Hardin Craig and B. L. Ullman. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXVI,	No. 1	*University Extension in Action.* By Russell M. Grumman. Price $1.00.
Vol.	XXVI,	No. 3	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Price 50c.
Vol.	XXVI,	No. 4	*Is World Government the Path to Peace?* Price 15c.
Vol.	XXVI,	No. 6	*Harrisse's Essay on Higher Education for South Carolina.* Price 50c.
Vol.	XXVII,	No. 2	*Lectures in the Humanities* (Third Series). Price 50c.
Vol.	XXVII,	No. 3	High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program. *"How Can the United Nations be Strengthened?"* Price 50c.
Vol	XXVIII,	No. 1	*Audio-Visual Aids for Schools, Colleges, and Adult Study Groups.* Price 50c.
Vol.	XXVIII,	No. 2	High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program. *"What Is the Responsibility of the United States in World Affairs?"* Price 50c.
Vol.	XXVIII,	No. 3	*Lectures in the Humanities.* (Fourth Series). 1947-48. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXVIII,	No. 4	*A Report of North Carolina College Centers* (1946-48). Price 50c.
Vol.	XXIX,	No. 2	*Building World Peace in the Atomic Age: What are the Responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations and in the Atlantic Pact?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXIX,	No. 3	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Fifth Series. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXX,	No. 1	*Lectures in the Humanities.* Sixth Series. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXX,	No. 2	*How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age?* Peace Handbook. Compiled by E. R. Rankin. Price 50c.
Vol.	XXX,	No. 3	*Correspondence Instruction,* Jan. 1951, Free.

MONEY ORDERS, CHECKS OR STAMPS ACCEPTED.
ADDRESS: UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

The United States Armed Forces Institute

CORRESPONDENCE COURSES AVAILABLE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

ELIGIBILITY FOR ENROLLMENT

The University of North Carolina is one of a group of colleges and universities selected by the United States Government to offer correspondence courses to those in service, the Government paying part of the expense. Military personnel of the U. S. Army, U. S. Air Force, the U. S. Navy, U. S. Coast Guard and U. S. Marine Corps are eligible to enroll under the Institute plan, provided they take courses approved by the War Department. The courses listed herein have been approved.

Fees

Under the Institute plan, the Government will pay the instructional fees. The student will pay a registration fee of $4.00 for each course and whatever amount is required for the books and supplies for each course. Note that the price of each course is listed.

Credit

All courses, with the exception of Math. c nA, are on the college level. While they are open to anyone wishing to study for professional or cultural reasons, persons interested in degree credit should consult the authorities of the institution where credit is desired about the work which they should take. Those wishing credit at the University of North Carolina must file here a record of their previous work unless such has already been sent. A blank for high school records will be furnished upon request. College credits should be sent to us on forms of the institutions attended. The University accepts one year's work by correspondence for credit toward a bachelor's degree. It is required that at least the last year's work for such a degree be taken in residence at this institution. Correspondence courses are not accepted for graduate credit at the University.

Procedure for Enrolling

Those desiring to enroll under this plan should send to the Commandant of the Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin, (1) one of our application blanks to be found on the back of this bulletin, with (2) an application blank of the Armed Forces Institute, and (3) a money order, cashier's check or certified check made out to the Treasurer of the University for the student's share of the cost (the amount indicated at the right of each course). Application blanks for the United States Armed Forces Institute have been furnished post, camp and station commanders and should be easily obtainable; but if not, they may be secured from the Institute Headquarters, Madison, Wisconsin. Persons may have

two enrollments at a time under certain conditions, but it seems advisable for those in service to complete one course before beginning another.

The Nature of the Work

When the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction has been notified by the Armed Forces Institute that an application has been aproved, the course material, including texts, will be forwarded to the student with full instructions as to how to proceed. Each assignment consists of (1) assigned readings, (2) lecture notes or discussion of the material under consideration and (3) questions to be answered or problems to be solved by the student and sent to the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction for correction. An assignment will require approximately five or six hours and persons may not submit more than four assignments in a course within a period of one week.

When all assignments have been completed and corrected by the instructor, an examination will be required. This may be taken under the supervision of a superior officer. Upon the satisfactory completion of a course, a report of the final grade will be furnished the student and, if desired, the credit earned will be transferred to a designated institution.

According to Government regulations, a person must be disenrolled if the course is not completed by him within a period of twenty-four months from the date of his enrollment. Furthermore, a student must be disenrolled if his course is not completed within twelve months from the date of his discharge, with the understanding that the period of twelve months shall not extend beyond the twenty-four month completion period.

List of Courses

COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)
Art			
The History and Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Art c 41	2	17	$14.50
This course is a survey of the architecture, sculpture and painting from the beginnings of art through the Gothic period.			
Business Administration			
Business Law c 91-c 92	3⅓ each	28 each	$10.50 each or *$4.00 for c 92
The aim of the course is to give the student an understanding of the main principles of law that govern in the daily conduct of business. The topics discussed are: contracts, agencies, negotiable instruments, sales, bailments, corporations, partnerships, and bankruptcy.			
Education			
Educational Psychology c 71a-b	2 each	16 each	$16.00 each or *$4.00 for c 71b
These courses consider critically such topics as heredity and its relations to environment, learning and its motivation, individual differences, mental hygiene, and mental measurements.			
Principles of Secondary Education c 99a	2	17	$14.00
This course emphasizes theory, objectives and types of organization of secondary education, the curriculum as related to aims of secondary education and modern American life and guidance in the secondary school.			
Methods of Secondary Education c 99b	2	17	$13.25
Modern methods of teaching and measuring results of teaching in secondary schools, extracurricular activities, classroom management and procedures are stressed.			
Elements of Statistical Methods in Education c 103a	2	16	$10.00
This course provides the statistical training necessary for understanding the reports of modern educational investigations and for conducting simple research projects.			
Historic Foundations of Modern Education c 142a-b	2 each	16 each	$22.25 ea. or *only $4.00 for c 142b
These courses trace the development of some important educational problems of modern times as they have been affected by social and political facts of history, etc.			

* This price if student is taking, or has taken, preceding course by correspondence from Extension Division, and still has textbooks.

COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)
Social & Educational History of the U. S. c 143a-b	2 each	17 each	$8.00 ea. or *only $4.00 for c 143b

These courses trace the evolution of the educational practices and institutions of the United States through its various stages.

Community Education c 144a-b	2 each	17 each	$12.10 each or *only $4.00 for c 144b

The first part of the course gives the background of theory for use of the resources of the community in improving the school curriculum by developing democratic participation in solving problems of the community. The second part applies theory to widespread practice. The aim of the whole course is to train leaders for better service to schools and communities.

The Teaching of the Natural Sciences in the Elementary Grades c 155	2	17	$9.20

The informational content of science is studied in relation to science instruction in the elementary school.

The Teaching of Arithmetic in the Elementary Grades c 156	2	18	$12.95

This course deals with the organization and selection of subject matter in arithmetic with modern methods of teaching the subject in the elementary school.

English

Freshman English c 1x	3⅓	28	$8.00 without dictionary $13.00 with dictionary

This course has for its object the mastery of the sentence and the relation of sentence structure to paragraph structure. Intensive reading of prose selections is included.

Freshman English c 2x	3⅓	27	$8.00 or *$4.00 without dictionary $13.00 or *$4.00 with dictionary

This course concerns a study of the essay as a prose form; composition centers upon the writing of longer essays than in c 1x, letters and expositions. Extensive reading is introduced and an approach to the problems of the study of literature is undertaken.

* This price if student is taking, or has taken, preceding course by correspondence from Extension Division, and still has textbooks.

COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)
English Literature (Sophomore) c E3	3⅓	25	$11.75

This course is an introduction to English literature through the study of representative works of selected chief writers, ending with the work of Coleridge. (Those having no credit in sophomore English should begin with this course. Those having had part of the combination English c 22-c 23-c 24 may continue with any of these courses they lack.)

English Literature (Sophomore) c E4	3⅓	29	$17.25 or *$9.50

This course is a continuation of English literature begun in c E3 and continuing through the 19th century, with the addition of a study of short stories. (Those having had part of the combination English c 22-c 23-c 24 should continue with any of those courses they lack.)

Business English c 6	2	18	$8.25

This course concerns the vocabulary, forms, and literature of the business profession with special attention to letters of application and inquiry, routine, collection, adjustment and sales letters. (For a longer course, see c 51 below.)

English Literature c 22 (Sophomore)	2	19	$11.75

This course begins an introduction to English literature through the study of representative works of selected chief writers. The selections studied are drawn from the beginnings of English literature through the 18th century. (See note under c E3 above.)

English Literature c 23 (Sophomore)	2	21	$11.75 or *$4.00

The selections studied in this course are drawn from the beginnings of Romanticism through the nineteenth century. (See note under c E3 above.)

English Literature c 24 (Sophomore)	2	18	$9.50

In this course a study is made of modern short stories.

Shakespeare c 50	3⅓	28	$13.00

About twenty representative comedies, tragedies, and histories of Shakespeare are studied.

Business English c 51	3⅓	28	$8.25

This is a similar course to English c 6 (see above) but also includes a study of business reports and technical articles.

Creative Writing: The Short Story c 53	3⅓	28	$9.24

A composition course designed primarily to offer students an opportunity for short story writing.

Introduction to the Short Story c 54a	2	18	$9.50

This course includes the reading and analysis of numerous short stories.

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COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)
American Literature c 81	3⅓	28	$8.25

This course concerns a study of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and of the early 19th century through Hawthorne and Poe.

The English Novel c 91	3⅓	28	$16.60

The course concerns the development of the English novel, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries. Special attention is given the works of Jane Austen, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Charlottee Brontë and George Eliot.

Geography

Principles of Geography c 15a	2	17	$13.00

This course concerns the interrelationship of man and his geographic environment.

Principles of Geography c 15b	2	17	$13.20 or *$4.20

A continuation of c 15a.

Introduction to Geography c 31	2⅔	21	$14.20

A regional study of the principles underlying the topography, climate, native vegetation, soils and distribution of minerals and metals of the world.

North America c 157	3⅓	28	$10.55

The major purposes of this course are to acquaint the student with each of the several geographic regions of North America and to direct his attention to the development, the present trends, and the outlook of each region and of the continent as a whole.

German

German: Intermediate Course c 3	3⅓	28	$11.13

This course includes translation, sight reading, composition and grammar. Persons who take it should have had one full year of German.

German: Intermediate Course c 4	3⅓	28	$10.22 or *$8.87

A continuation of German c 3 above.

German Literature c 21	2	17	$7.76

German Literature, from beginning to Lessing and Schiller.

German Literature c 22	2	17	$7.48 or *$5.28

Classicism and Romanticism.

Scientific German c 24	3⅓	28	$11.35

The course aims to develop skill in reading German in the special field of (1) chemistry, or (2) medicine, biology, zoology or (3) physics, mathematics. It will aid in preparing for language examinations for an advanced degree.

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COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)

History

Social Science (Freshman) c 1x 3⅓ 26 $13.25
This is an historical study of the institutions of western civilization, designed to promote an understanding of the social, political, and economic aspects of the modern world.

Social Science (Freshman) c 2x 3⅓ 29 $17.50
This is a continuation of Social Science c 1x, to be taken only by those who have had that course or the equivalent.

American History c 21 ..... 2 20 $14.50
This course begins a general survey of the history of the United States and covers the period 1492 to about 1843.

American History c 22 ..... 2 19 $15.00 or *$9.00
A study of American history from about 1843 to about 1897.

American History c 23 ..... 2 18 $15.00 or *$9.00
The period of American history studied is from about 1897 to about 1950. For other courses in American history see History c 71-c 72.

Ancient History c 41 ..... 3⅓ 27 $11.52
This course deals with the history of the Orient, Greece and Rome to the time of Constantine, with particular attention to social and economic conditions and cultural and religious developments.

Medieval History c 42 ..... 3⅓ 28 $12.75
This course deals with the history of Western European civilization during the Middle Ages (300-1500). Special emphasis is given to the economic-social and cultural developments during the late Roman Empire, the so-called "Dark Ages," the age of the crusades, and the Renaissance.

English History c 44 (w) 3⅓ 26 $13.50
A study of English history from early times to 1603.

English History c 45 (w) ..... 3⅓ 26 $13.50 or *$4.00
The period of English history from 1603 to 1944.

American History c 71 ..... 3⅓ 28 $14.50
A general survey of the history of the United States from 1492 to the end of the Civil War.

American History c 72 ..... 3⅓ 28 $15.00 or *$9.00
A continuation of History c 71 to about 1950.

American Diplomatic History c 143 ..... 3⅓ 28 $14.50
This course is a chronological treatment of American foreign relations from 1763 to the present. It discusses important characters and events in our diplomatic history and traces the origin and development of basic trends in our foreign policy.

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COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)

Latin

Intermediate Latin c 1x	3⅓	26	$6.90 without dictionary $12.90 with dictionary

This course is concerned with the translation of Cicero's *De Senectute* with work in vocabulary, and with a review of the principles of grammar.

Intermediate Latin c 3	2	17	$8.11 without dictionary $9.46 with dictionary

The course consists of a review of Latin grammar and a study of Cicero's *De Amicitia.*

Latin Composition c 8	3⅓	29	$5.00

The course includes translation into Latin of detached sentences illustrating the general principles of syntax and word order and considers continuous narrative and questions of diction and style.

Latin Poetry c 26	3⅓	28	$9.75 without dictionary $15.75 with dictionary

The course comprises the reading of the *Phormio* of Terence and selected odes of Horace. Emphasis is put on content and literary form.

Mathematics

Plane Geometry c nA	non-credit	28	$6.52

The course is concerned with the nature of geometric proofs, the use of reasoning and the method of developing a formal proof; direct formal proofs, using as subject matter parallel lines and circles; indirect proofs involving inequalities; algebraic proofs, in connection with arcs and angles; geometry of position, including constructions and loci; and numerical geometry, containing similar polygons, trigonometry, areas and perimeters.

Note: Either Mathematics c 1-c 2-c 3 or c 7-c 8 will meet the requirements of the Freshman year at the University; the latter combination is recommended.

Introductory Mathematics (College Algebra) c 1	2	19	$6.50

This course treats the basic problems of college algebra. For a longer course in the subject, see Mathematics c 7.

Introductory Mathematics c 2	2	19	$6.75

A study of functions and their graphs, the limit notion and graphical treatment of the fundamental notions of the differential and integral calculus.

Plane Trigonometry c 3	2	19	$7.40

The fundamentals of plane trigonometry are studied with less extensive application than in Mathematics c 8.

COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)
College Algebra c 7	3⅓	28	$6.50

This course treats the fundamental operations of algebra and emphasizes the solution of linear and quadratic equations. For a shorter course, see Mathematics c 1.

Plane Trigonometry c 8	3⅓	28	$7.40

This course concerns itself with the definitions of the trigonometric functions, their relations to each other, and the application of these functions and log tables to the solution of plane triangles.

Spherical Trigonometry c 13	2	19	$8.00

This course is designed especially for those who are interested in nautical and aerial navigation. It concerns a study of the mathematics relations existing among the sides and the angles of a triangle on the surface of a sphere.

Analytic Geometry c 31	3⅓	28	$8.40

This course includes the standard treatment of lines, conic sections, transformation of coordinate systems by translation and rotation, polar coordinates, parametric equations, lines and planes in solid analytic geometry.

Differential Calculus c 32	3⅓	28	$8.25

Most of this course is devoted to a study of the derivative and its applications in elementary differential geometry, physics, and the theory of maxima and minima. In the latter part of the course an introduction to the theory of infinite series is followed by a study of Taylor's series.

Music

** Elementary Theory of Music c 1	2	16	$9.75

A study of the rudiments of music: scales, intervals, and elementary harmonic material with practice in melody writing.

** Harmony c 14-c 15-c 16	2 each	19	$7.80 ea. or *$4.00 for c 15 and c 16.

A first-year course in harmony, covering the ordinary harmonic resources up to the chords of the seventh, their inversions, and elementary modulation.

Philosophy

Introductory Logic c 21	3⅓	28	$12.60

A study of the fundamental principles of efficient thinking as a basis for rational belief and intelligent action.

Introductory Ethics c 22	3⅓	28	$10.25

A study of morals and of the theory of good conduct.

Introduction to Philosophy c 41	3⅓	28	$6.75

This course will attempt to introduce students to basic problems in the various fields of philosophy. Its purpose will be to broaden students' views with respect to problems of contemporary civilization.

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** These courses require the use of a piano.

COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)

Political Science

The Government of the U. S. c 41	3⅓	28	$11.75

A course dealing with the national government of the United States and the practical organization and operation of the institutions established for administering national affairs.

American State Government c 81	3⅓	28	$10.00

A study of the principles, organization and administrative methods and functions of the state governments.

Psychology

General Psychology c 21x-c 22x-c 23x	2 each	17 each	$9.20 each or *$4.00 for c 22x or c 23x

These courses present the essential phenomena of psychology and the various methods of approach. Emphasis is placed on the organic relationships within the whole field.

These courses give credit only for the lecture part of the work as offered in residence at the University and do not include the laboratory part.

Religion

The Origin and Significance of the Bible c 28	3⅓	28	$5.50 without Bible $8.50 with Bible

This course is an introduction to the literature of the Bible, with special consideration to the impact of the Hebrew-Christian faith upon modern man as he seeks a religious orientation in the contemporary situation.

Romance Languages

Spanish

Note: Candidates for degree credit at the University are required to take their courses in this department in residence.

Spanish Composition c 3	3⅓	28	$8.96

The object of the course is to provide the student with an opportunity to acquire practice in writing Spanish. Prerequisite, two years of high school or one year of college Spanish.

Spanish Composition c 4	3⅓	27	$9.95

A continuation of Spanish c 3.

* This price if student is taking, or has taken, preceding course by correspondence from Extension Division, and still has textbooks.

COURSE	Sem. Hrs. Credit	No. Assigns. (including exam.)	Enrollment fee (including $4.00 registration fee and costs of texts and supplies)
Spanish Literature c 21	3⅓	28	$16.26

This course gives a general survey of Spanish literature during the 16th and 17th centuries. Selections from Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Calderon, etc., are read.

Spanish Literature c 22	3⅓	28	$14.16 or *$10.41

This is a survey of Spanish literature since the classical period, with special emphasis on the 19th century.

Sociology and Anthropology

Introduction to Sociology c 51	3⅓	28	$12.75

A study is made of contemporary society, the forces underlying it, its organization and trends.

Social Problems c 52a-b	2 each	17 each	$11.50 each or *$4.00

Sociology c 52a concerns a study of all groups of people in relation to their various backgrounds. Sociology c 52b deals with social institutions and their problems.

Marriage c 62a-b	2 each	17 each	$13.50 each or *only $4.00 for c 62b

(a) Backgrounds of American marriage institutions; analysis of mate selection and the involvement processes leading to marriage.

(b) Adjustments after marriage; marital conflict and accommodation; problems of parenthood; consideration of counseling and other stabilizing devices provided by communities.

Rural Sociology c 102	3⅓	28	$14.00

This course makes a study of the rural community, considering the advantages and disadvantages of farm life, rural health, sanitation and social institutions.

The Negro c 125	3⅓	28	$9.00

This course includes a study of the American Negro's historical and cultural background, aspects of Negro life and the problems of race relations.

Community Recreation c 173a-b	2 each	17 ea.	$9.00 for c 173a $13.50 or *$8.50 for c 173b

Sociology c 173a concerns foundations of organized recreation and c 173b considers areas and facilities for recreation.

Planning and Administration of Recreation c 176a	2	17	$13.50 or *$4.00

The course justifies recreation as a function of government and concerns desirable planning and administration.

Regional Sociology of the South c 181a-b	2 each	16 each	$12.00 each or *$4.00 for c 181b

A study is made of the South in terms of natural resources, human resources, and culture, with emphasis upon regional planning.

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SUGGESTIONS

Select a course and send both of your applications (see page 3) to the Commandant of the United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin. Upon the receipt of the course material, arrange, if possible, a definite time for studying. It is desirable that you complete a course in the usual time allowed, thirteen months, but the University will cooperate with you and will allow longer if necessary. As previously stated, the Government requires us to discontinue you if you do not complete a course within twenty-four months from the date of your enrollment and if you do not finish within twelve months from date of your discharge, with the understanding that the period of twelve months shall not extend beyond the twenty-four month completion period. If information is desired at any time, write

Bureau of Correspondence Instruction

University Extension Division

Chapel Hill, N. C.

APPLICATION BLANK

(for correspondence work with University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

Race.....

Name in Full .....
Last First Middle

Rank ..... Serial No..... Age.....

Address for returning assignments ..... Battery Company Troop, etc., Regt. or Battalion

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A. P. O., No. of Post or Station City State

Permanent Address .....
Street City State

Previous Education
High School..... Course desired.....

No. yrs. attended..... Date of grad.....

College ..... Credit desired.....
Name Yrs. attended or degree. If degree credit, state where.

If credit desired elsewhere, have you secured the approval of the authorities? .....

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